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China Report

RED FLAG

No. 4, 16 February 1980

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CHINA REPORT

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Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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WELCOME THE ARRIVAL OF EARLY SPRING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 80 inside front cover

[Papercut by Shen Peinong [3747 3099 6593]]



[Slogan on the lamps reads: "Support the Army; Love the People"]

CSO: 4004

THE MODERNIZATION OF AGRICULTURE AND THE COMPREHENSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF
THE COUNTRYSIDE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 80 pp 2-8

[Article by Du Runsheng [2629 3387 3932]]

[Text] I. The Situation of Our Country's Agricultural Production Is
Fine

The current situation of our country's agricultural production is very good. The total output of grain reached 609.5 billion jin in 1978 and more than 630 billion jin in 1979. The output of cotton has also increased, reaching 44 million dan in 1979. The output of oil-bearing crops increased by an even bigger margin, namely, 16 million dan in 1979, which is about 15 percent of the output in 1978. Forestry and animal husbandry have also shown improvement. The internal structure of agriculture has also been readjusted. The peasants' income has risen. In 1978 the average per capita income was 74.6 yuan, and in 1979 this may have increased by about 10 yuan. The peasants are very glad, and the countryside is a scene of prosperity.

The achievement of these successes is due mainly to the following factors: The principle of the third plenum of the 11th Central Committee of the party has been put into practice on a wide scale. Things which had been thrown into disorder are being set right. The pernicious influence of the "ultraleftist" line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" is being eliminated. "The Decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Some Questions Concerning the Acceleration of Agricultural Development" have been put into practice conscientiously. Various economic policies concerning the countryside have been implemented. Grain purchases by the state and prices of agricultural products have been readjusted. The enthusiasm of hundreds of millions of peasants has been aroused. These are the reasons for the successes.

The agricultural situation has been taking a favorable turn, but over-estimations must not be made. The level of development of our country's production is still very low. Each person on the average can expect only

a little more than 630 jin of grain. As for agricultural labor productivity, one farm worker produces only 2,000 jin of grain. In our country the rate of conversion of grain into other commodities is very low. Development in agricultural production does not keep pace with the needs arising from the growth of the entire population and of the urban industrial population. At present we have only been able to reverse the long-existing trend of fluctuations. The disproportions in industry and agriculture are beginning to be readjusted. However, it is still not possible to alter at a stroke the fact that agricultural production is at a low level, lacks stability and is not comprehensive. The party Central Committee has repeatedly reminded us that we must not become overconfident just because there have been bumper harvests for the past 2 years. We must seriously and conscientiously lay the emphasis of our work on economic construction in a practical manner and do our best to make a success of agricultural production.

The development of our country's agriculture has taken some tortuous paths in the past three decades. Some time has been wasted. However, we have a preliminary material foundation for socialist agriculture. Compared with the past, the conditions for agricultural production have greatly improved. The extent of our mechanization has increased. The proportion of the area plowed by tractors has reached 40 percent, and machinery to serve agriculture totals 160 million horsepower. We have built more than 84,000 large, medium-sized and small reservoirs, and the irrigated area is 700 million mu, which is nearly half the total area under cultivation. During the initial period after liberation we could not produce chemical fertilizers by ourselves. In 1979 we produced more than 50 million metric tons of them, and every mu of cultivated land received an average of 70 jin of chemical fertilizers. On the whole our agriculture has advanced. Our relatively small area of cultivated land keeps 950 million people alive. Basically, everyone is adequately clothed and fed. This is quite a feat. If our country's agriculture could achieve considerable development even under the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in the past decade or so, then there is no doubt that from now on our work will be better and production will develop faster, because we have the guidance of the correct line of the party Central Committee and a relatively strong industrial foundation. In the ensuing discussion I will express my personal views and understanding of the problems related to the modernization of agriculture.

II. Make Great Efforts in Practice and Build a Road to the Modernization of Agriculture That Suits Our Country's Conditions

Put in simple terms, to modernize agriculture is to equip it with modern science and technology, increase output, raise labor productivity and the rate of conversion into other commodities and attain advanced world standards. The concept of modernization is a developing historical one. Modernization cannot aim at a fixed target. Generally speaking, the levels attained by some advanced countries can roughly be taken as the

mark of modernization in the contemporary era. But whatever criteria are used, we must guarantee that all people in the country will be well clothed and fed. In our country the ability to provide adequate agricultural products for such a large population will be the most important achievement in the modernization of agriculture.

The implementation of modernization must proceed from our country's actual conditions and endowments. Ours is a socialist country as well as a developing one. "Proceeding from our country's features of a large population, little cultivated land, a weak foundation and a low standard of science and technology but having extensive territory, relatively abundant natural resources and a large labor force, we must earnestly sum up our country's own experiences, learn the advanced experiences of other countries with an open mind, try out best to avoid those drawbacks which have appeared in the technologically advanced countries, and create a program for the modernization of agriculture that is suited to our country's conditions." The above is an instruction for us contained in the decisions of the party Central Committee on some questions concerning the acceleration of agricultural development. It is also the starting point for the consideration of problems in the planning of modernization. We must earnestly consider the three following issues.

First, we must try by all means to make the countryside prosperous and wealthy and rely on our accumulated funds to carry out modernization. We must avoid taking the road already taken by capitalism. Capitalism made the peasants of small farms bankrupt and let the majority of people suffer from poverty in order to develop industry in the cities, and then it later diverted capital to the agricultural sector to effect modernization. This was a long and painful road. We must not take it. The road we will take is that of industry and agriculture helping each other, the cities and the countryside helping each other, joint development and joint acquisition of wealth. The cities must not be worried about the countryside getting rich. The state must not be worried about the collective becoming wealthy. The collective must not be worried that the peasants may become well off. In the past the "gang of four" said that "poverty meant revolution and richness meant revisionism." They advocated "transition in a state of poverty" and practiced the "socialism of poverty." This was reactionary, and its pernicious influence must be eliminated. To let the countryside become well off does not mean that all rural areas in the country will become well off at the same time. In fact, the pace will be different in different places. It is normal and compatible with the laws of development that those places with higher productivity in the production of commodities will take the lead. There must be a focal point in the use of the state's funds. The key places for investment should be commodity grain production, cash crops production, animal husbandry, fishery and forestry. The nurturing of the advanced coupled with assistance to the less advanced, that is, to advance wave upon wave, is the only way to go from a state of imbalance to one of balance.

According to the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, a state practicing the dictatorship of the proletariat must never exploit the peasants but must do its best to look after their material benefits. The autonomous power of the collective must be treated with respect, and the price scissors in the exchange of agricultural products for industrial products must be continuously narrowed. The economic burden that the state assigns to the peasants must be appropriate to their income level. As the extent of industrialization increases, so the state should increase financial and technological assistance to the peasants. From the beginning, attention should be paid to the rational distribution of industry. Industries which can be appropriately run in the countryside should be located there. Thus, the labor forces in the countryside can gain more employment opportunities, and the income of the collective and the individuals can be raised. In addition, the differences between the cities and the countryside can be reduced step by step, and the evils brought about by the anomalous development of big cities can be prevented.

Second, we must preserve and protect the natural ecological equilibrium so that farming, forestry and animal husbandry can enjoy balanced growth. We must maintain a rational internal structure for agriculture. Nature is essentially a spontaneous cyclical system in which living organisms, sunlight, water and the soil exchange their energy. Any imbalance in this system means that energy is lost in the process of exchange, and restoration will then be difficult. In our country's history the ecological equilibrium was seriously damaged due to prolonged feudal rule and plundering by imperialism, as well as prolonged wars. After liberation, large-scale construction was launched, and although this problem has received attention it has not been given its proper place in people's consideration.

Efforts must be made to speedily change the disproportion between agriculture and forestry and the irrational distribution. It must be stressed that the right thing must be done at the right place. A place suitable for farming should develop farming; a place suitable for forestry should develop forestry; and so on for animal husbandry and fishery. Attention must be paid to the preservation of the environment and the prevention of pollution. Only by maintaining a rational proportion with agriculture can natural and human resources be employed rationally, and each promotes the other, so that the productive forces can be fully developed. At the same time, only thus can the beneficial circulation of the agricultural-natural system be maintained, and this will be favorable to production as well as to the inhabitants' health. Our aim is to build a new countryside where there will be a comprehensive development of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery; where agriculture, industry and commerce are run comprehensively; where the environment is beautiful; and where life is prosperous and culture is well developed. The countryside must be urbanized and the entire land turned into a garden.

Third, construction must suit our country's special characteristics of a large population but little cultivated land. That our country has a large population but little land is simultaneously a special characteristic and a weakness. How can this weakness be overcome? The only way out is to exploit the advantage of having many people alter the disadvantageous situation of having little land. On the one hand, the 1,500 million mu of farmland must be well cultivated. Intensive farming should be practiced. Good varieties of seed should be used to raise output. The output per unit of land area as well as total output should be increased. In accordance with our country's climatic conditions, north China can reap two crops a year or three crops every 2 years, and south China two or three crops a year. The historical tradition of intensive and meticulous cultivation should be preserved and carried forward. Land development must be done well, technology must be reformed and chemical fertilizers must be widely used. Scientific methods of cultivation must be used and attention paid to economic results.

On the other hand, production possibilities must be widely opened up. A diversified economy must be developed with great efforts in mountainous regions, grasslands, coastal areas and lakes. It should be appreciated that when a 300-million-strong labor force is confined to 1,500 million mu of land, even if every mu can yield a thousand jin of crops, the average per capita income will still be very low, and people will not be very well off. A small number of people should be employed to cultivate the farmland, while the majority explores other production possibilities and creates a new world. According to the surveys of advanced communes and production teams, sole reliance on grain production cannot work if the countryside is to become well off. Forestry, animal husbandry, sideline industries and fishery must be developed comprehensively. Reliance on raw materials alone also cannot work. There must also be processing industries, transportation industries, commerce and service trades which enable wealth to be created in a wider variety of areas. That is to say, the road of comprehensive development of the countryside must be taken. According to information obtained from mechanization experiments, at a preliminary stage it will make 50 to 70 percent of the agricultural labor force redundant, while a high degree of mechanization will make 90 percent redundant. Calculations show that, if so many people flock to the cities, then more than 500 big cities, each with a population of 1 million, will have to be built to accommodate them. Obviously this is impossible. The only possibility is to make arrangements for these labor forces locally, assigning them in groups to animal husbandry, industry, the forestry industry, the aquatic products industry, the manufacturing industries, commerce, the transportation industry, the construction industry and the service trades. There already have been many examples which prove that this is a feasible and workable method.

With the development of industry and the ever-increasing new and modernized means of production, a part of the labor force and technical staff can even be employed to transform the landscape. Since liberation the state has invested only 40 billion yuan in building water conservancy projects, and 70 percent of the costs have represented the accumulation of the peasants' labor. Such a huge accumulation of labor is unimaginable in other countries. It is only our country which can achieve it. "Transform China in the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains"--this will be a slogan which we will forever uphold. We should have a long-term program as our goal for long-term struggle. The northwest part of our country consists mostly of desolate mountains, deserts and loess plateaus. These should be improved and transformed step by step. The northwest regions can be irrigated by diverting water from the Huang He, while afforestation can be carried out simultaneously on a large scale in the loess plateaus to conserve water and the soil. Making use of the three gorges of the Changjiang to generate electric power can solve the electric power supply problem and simultaneously radically reduce the problem of flooding. To lead water from south China to the north is also a gigantic project. It can solve the problem of irrigating more than 60 million mu of land north of the Changjiang and Huang He, and also solve the water supply problem for industry in the cities of the region. Besides, such major tasks as improving the Huanghe-Huaihai plains as well as developing the Qinghai-Xizang plateaus and the northwestern grasslands call for organized study expeditions as well as proposed plans for improving them, which should be carried out step by step.

It is precisely a special feature of our country that at every forward step in our efforts to mechanize agriculture we must make arrangements for and employ the redundant labor forces locally and promptly.

III. Develop in a Comprehensive Way and Make Plans Which Take the Overall Situation Into Account

First, consider the relationship between the comprehensive development of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery and the development of grain production.

In China's history the areas inhabited by the Han people have long been dominated by the small-scale peasant economy. The production structure of growing mainly a single cereal as well as the food structure of eating mainly cereals were formed in this period. Before liberation the serious disproportion between agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry had formed a vicious circle. Now this vicious circle is still at work. The percentage of our country covered by forest is merely 12.7 percent (the world average is 22 percent, and over 30 percent in countries whose forestry industry is highly developed). The vegetation has been destroyed, and weathering has turned the land to sand. Deserts in the north keep expanding southward, and water loss and soil erosion of the

loess plateaus are very serious. Areas south of the lower reaches of the Changjiang originally were dominated by green hills and clear lakes and rivers. Now they are changing. In the upper reaches of Sichuan trees are being cut, opening up wasteland. This affects the waters of the Changjiang. If no attention is paid to such matters, then one day it may be found that "the mountains of Sichuan are barren and the waters of the Changjiang turbid." Our country's climate has been such of late that waterlogging is rare, while drought occurs most of the time. This is very closely related to the forestry industry and vegetation. Our country's animal husbandry industry is very far from developed. Its output accounts for only a little more than 13 percent of the total value of agricultural production. Nevertheless, the development of prairies and grasslands has long been neglected. To grow more cereal crops, the cultivated land area is expanded, lakes are partly turned into land for cultivation so that their water surface diminishes, and some of the cash crops are displaced. Consequently, the supply of aquatic products is inadequate, raw materials for light industries are in short supply and the peasants' incomes have correspondingly decreased.

The disproportion existing among agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline industries and fishery, as well as that existing between cereal and cash crops, could lead to serious consequences. Understanding of this point has been unified. The problem is how to convert the vicious circle into a beneficial cycle.

Some comrades have proposed that the breakthrough should start with animal and livestock husbandry. This will increase meat production and reduce the pressure on the grain supply. The same attention that is being paid to the pig-raising industry can be paid to the rearing of cattle, sheep and rabbits. This suggestion is a good one and should be adopted. But it must be added that grain production cannot be neglected, because transformation and development of the prairies will take a very long time and substantial financial resources. Readjustment of the structure of farming, forestry and animal husbandry, as well as changes in distribution, must be backed up by a certain quantity of grain. Of course, this does not mean that the development of forestry, animal husbandry and fishery must wait until grain production is completely satisfactory. From now on grain production, for one thing, must be increased by raising the output per unit area of cultivated land as well as by achieving a balanced growth in production. At the same time, comprehensive development must be stressed. The five industries must be developed simultaneously so that they may promote each other.

Needless to say, the stock-raising areas already in existence, as well as mixed areas with both farming and animal husbandry, must be actively supported and assisted. In addition, many places in the farming areas, like the grassy slopes and grasslands in the mountainous areas of the south, have plentiful rainfall. There the yield of cultivated grazing land per unit area is 10 or even 20 times that of the pastoral areas in

the northwest. The opening up and exploitation of such places should be prompt and active. If price policies are appropriate, if technology is available and if collective stock raising is accompanied by individual stock raising, then the animal and livestock husbandry business will develop prosperously.

Let us again consider afforestation. There are three contradictions here. The first is that between the large demands of industry and the shortage of forestry resources. To solve this problem, on the one hand the materials must be utilized rationally, waste must be reduced, substitute materials must be developed and the timber-processing industry must be run well. On the other hand, in old forest areas where trees have been cut excessively the lumbering must be stopped, and new trees must be planted and grown there. The work of opening up new forest areas must be speeded up.

The second contradiction is the problem of policies concerning the ownership of forests. Many barren mountainous areas in the north are state owned. The state should consider allocating some of them to collectives for planting trees or carrying out joint ventures. It is also necessary to allocate small areas of barren mountains and sand dunes to private individuals for growing trees for firewood. To sum up, it should now be stressed that consideration must be given to all these three sectors: the state, the collective and the individual. The three should advance side by side.

Land ownership of the forest areas should be designated. The method of distributing income should be determined. Only thus can the enthusiasm of the collective and the individuals in creating and preserving the forests be aroused.

The third contradiction is the problem of food. The masses need food to eat. Since the population is increasing and the productivity of the existing cultivated land remains low, then barren land must be opened up for farming. When this happens, forestry is abandoned. Successful experience in solving this contradiction has already been obtained in many places. For example, consider the Gaoxigou production brigade of Mizhi County, Shaanxi Province. Since the 1950's it has been grasping the planting of grass, trees and cereal crops. Farming, forestry and animal husbandry are being developed simultaneously. Now it is practicing the three one-thirds system successfully, which means one-third forestry, one-third animal husbandry and one-third cereal-growing business. It now has 600 to 700 cattle and sheep and enjoys a per capita grain ration of 500 jin, as well as a per capita income of over 100 yuan. It contributes large quantities of grain, leather, beef, mutton and fruit to the state. One main piece of experience it has obtained is that extensive farming with a low per unit area yield must be given up for intensive farming with a high yield. Terraced fields and paddy fields are built first. The soil is treated and the moisture in it conserved.

Output will be raised and the grain supply insured. Then barren land can be converted into forests. The conversion of barren land into forests must follow a certain ratio. When 1 mu of paddy fields is built below, 3 mu of barren land above is converted. The building of fields and the conversion of barren land must not be done to excess. The experience at Gaoxigou answers the question of how to convert a vicious circle into a beneficial cycle. In fact, many places in the country have also experienced this. Therefore, it is wrong to say that there is no way. Methods do exist, and the question is whether we want to grasp them, whether we grasp them firmly and whether we implement them well.

To solve the problem of food we must also develop the aquatic products industry. Our country has a vast total water surface area, and much can be done to retain fish, shrimp and other aquatic creatures. The excessive netting of creatures from the sea near the coast is serious, and the extent of catching and netting must be brought under control to preserve resources. Inland lakes are blocked, and measures must be adopted to effect a change. We must take advantage of every positive factor and fully and properly utilize all those lakes, ponds and reservoirs suitable for keeping fish. Many places adopt the method of a biological cycle for keeping and growing living organisms--for example, keeping and growing mulberries, silkworms, pigs and fish, respectively. The results are very good, and this method should be widely recommended.

Over a 3-year period of readjustment, the production of several of the most urgently needed cash crops must be restored to its previous high level. When the production of cash crops is all right, several objectives can be achieved at once: the peasants' income will increase, the supply of raw materials to light industries will be insured and the fiscal revenue of the state will also correspondingly increase.

To a varying degree, forestry, animal husbandry, fishery and cash crop industries all mutually rely on and coexist with grain production. All these must be planned in an overall way.

Second, consider the integration of agriculture, industry and commerce into an organic whole.

It has been said above that more sources of income should be opened up in order to enable the countryside to become well off, and the long-term aim is to develop a diversified economy. Now people hold the unified view that communes and production teams should develop such sideline industries as growing other crops and raising livestock. Can they run industry? Can they run commerce? These are new questions. In the past we only allowed peasants to work in agriculture. Now in various places the communes and production teams not only work in agriculture but run industry and commerce. This is called the integration of agriculture, industry and commerce into an organic whole. Our

country today has 1,452,600 enterprises run by communes and production teams. They yield a total income of 46,929 million yuan, accounting for about 30 percent of the total income at the commune, production brigade and production team level. In a situation in which the state purchase price of agricultural products cannot be greatly increased, agriculture yields a very low profit margin. Some localities even suffer losses. Therefore, people hope to get compensation from manufacturing and sideline industries. Thus, manufacturing industries run by commune and production teams emerge as the times require and become developed. After these enterprises have been built they do bring very substantial benefits to the rural economy. Such enterprises can provide the necessary funds for agricultural construction purposes. In Jiangsu Province a total of 14,600 million yuan has been spent over the years on the construction of irrigation projects. The state has invested only 3,600 million yuan; the rest has been provided by the support of the enterprises run by the communes and production teams, as well as the labor accumulation of the commune members.

Enterprises run by communes and production teams are a new and vital development. For instance, in undertaking the processing of agricultural produce, whatever raw materials are available locally can be utilized and can be processed locally, so that material resources as well as human skills and abilities can be fully utilized. Some waste materials arising from the processing of raw materials will cause pollution in the cities, but in the countryside they serve as a fertilizer or feed. Small-scale mining can be undertaken: for example, the mining of coal, nonferrous metals and rocks which are in short supply. Take, for instance, Wuxi County in Jiangsu Province. It undertakes the processing of materials supplied by other places, and its products sell well in the market because they are needed by people and are things which large factories in the cities are unwilling to produce. The enterprises run by the communes and production teams assume some responsibility for their own profits and losses. Their workers live locally, and it is unnecessary to build dormitories and canteens for them. During the busy seasons these workers engage in farming, and during the slack season they work in the factories. So even when the factories stop work there is no problem of unemployment. These enterprises will not do anything that results in losses. They pay great attention to market research. They try hard to lower production costs, improve product quality and maintain their competitive ability. They exhibit more initiative than the state-owned enterprises. The party Central Committee and the State Council have issued a document calling for a major development in the running of enterprises by communes and production teams. Of course, readjustment must accompany development. Stress must be laid on investigation and study as well as on good regional planning, so that these enterprises can really achieve the necessary aim of supplementing and supporting state-owned enterprises. Factories must be built only if raw materials, sources of energy, markets for their products and investment funds are available. Until all the necessary materials are available, nothing must be done. Blind development must be avoided and losses prevented.

Furthermore, the problem of "commerce" must be solved. Today there is industry in the countryside, but channels of supply and marketing are lacking. The supply and marketing cooperatives, being state-owned enterprises, are constrained by the supply-marketing schemes and profit schemes of the higher authorities. They are often incompatible with the needs of the enterprises run by the communes and production teams. We must study how the supply and marketing work can better serve agricultural production under the new conditions. Besides relying on the state-owned commercial agencies and the supply and marketing cooperatives, the enterprises run by communes and production teams in various places are setting up jointly run supply and marketing agencies by themselves in order to open up markets and establish contact with the consumers. With proper guidance such agencies will become a channel for activating the social economy and a great help to state-owned commercial agencies and supply and marketing cooperatives. They will play a beneficial role. It is possible that allowing the communes and production teams to undertake processing work, carry out their own production and do their own marketing business will divert part of the profits of the state-owned enterprises to the communes and production teams. Will this affect the state's fiscal revenue? In the short term, fiscal revenue may be affected a bit. But that part of the value newly created by the enterprises run by the communes and production teams is not a kind of transfer. Last year such enterprises paid 2 billion yuan in taxes to the state, and thus the state's finances have already benefited. And it must be realized that to transfer part of the profits to the peasants will activate the entire rural economy and consequently will better promote the development of the entire national economy. So this matter brings much benefit but little harm. There is no need to worry excessively. In addition, if the communes and production teams are permitted to carry out their own production and to their own marketing, a market outside the plans will certainly appear. In the past this market was illegal, and the policy was to deny its legitimacy. Now this probably will not work. If there is proper guidance so that planned adjustment and market adjustment are integrated, and if this market is guided onto the right track of development, then harm can be avoided, benefit can be reaped and things can be done better.

Lastly, consider the problem of the mechanization of agriculture.

The mechanization of agriculture also requires overall planning. Last year some comrades raised the question of technology policy in the modernization of agriculture: Should the modernization of mechanical technology or that of biological technology be achieved first? Actually, mechanical technology and biological technology are not mutually exclusive. For a number of years, in a majority of our country's districts, the complete mechanization of operations in the fields will remain an impossibility for economic and technological reasons. It is correct to change over to the widespread use of irrigation facilities, chemicals and good varieties of seed. However, mechanization is not tantamount to

changing over to the use of tractors. Biological technology itself also requires mechanization. Take, for instance, the serious drought the year before last. If there had not been so many pumping machines, electric motors, diesel engines and electric power generating facilities, how could so much water have been pumped from underground? The whole country needs somewhat more than 30 billion jin of grain seed every year. If there are machines for processing and raising the seed, then the use of seed can be reduced by up to 20 percent. The whole country can then save about 6 billion jin of seed. Therefore, whether we are talking about the whole country or a district, although we should stress our priorities we cannot give a detailed breakdown of precisely what should be changed first and what should be changed later.

In such a large country as ours it is impossible to achieve complete mechanization in a short period of time. We are all agreed on this point, but the achievement of mechanization should be done selectively, in steps, with stress on certain areas. Regionally speaking, mechanical combines with large tractors as the core should be widely used primarily on the great plains with much land and few people, such as those in the northeast, north and northwest. Small hand-guided tractors can be used more widely. The most urgently needed categories of machinery are water conservancy machinery, transportation machinery, machinery for gaining time in planting and harvesting as well as animal husbandry machinery. For instance, harvesters, rice transplanters, seeders and drying machines can help save time and should be produced first. It is very important to save several days in seeding or harvesting work. Because the frost-free period is short in Heilongjiang, if cereal crops can be planted and reaped sufficiently early to avoid early frost, the output will increase. Otherwise, the output will decrease. In the south, where two or three crops are grown annually, whether prompt harvesting and transplanting of rice is possible also affects the output tremendously. Mechanization should be achieved place by place and item by item. A place ought to achieve success when it undergoes mechanization. When an item is undertaken, it ought to be successful. Attention must be focused on whether mechanization of a place or of an item leads to significant improvements. That means that attention must be paid to linking the parts to form a whole. Otherwise, waste will result. We must make sure that the use of machinery not only saves labor but also increases production and harvests. If the planning is economically undesirable, the peasants will not accept it.

The technological structure in agriculture should generally embody the entire technological spectrum, but different countries should place stress on different aspects according to their own conditions. For example, water conservancy is particularly important to China. Chemical fertilizers produce quick returns. The masses say, "Whether there is any harvest depends on water; whether the harvest is big depends on fertilizer." Having water but no fertilizer, or the other way around, will not do. Farmyard manure and green manure should of course be

boosted, while chemical fertilizers should also be increased. If we increase the application of chemical fertilizers to 100 jin per mu and make available other coordinated conditions, then an extra 100 billion jin of grain can be reaped. The cultivation of good seed strains is an even more essential measure for increasing the output of modern agriculture. We have done a lot of work in the past in this respect, and from now on this should be done faster and more systematically under the guidance of unified national planning.

In the past, not enough stress was put on communications and transportation. Now it appears that, without the development of the communications and transportation enterprises, production will not be able to flourish, especially in the mountainous regions, and the exchange of commodities as well as the division of labor among specialized units will not be able to flourish either.

The policy of energy for the countryside should be considered from the long-term point of view. Since petroleum and coal can be better used in industry and the use of straw as a fuel is too costly, the development of small hydroelectric power plants and marsh gas should be carried out as an important energy policy.

To achieve the modernization of agriculture, scientific research and the training of qualified personnel must be strengthened. This task should take precedence over others in the achievement of modernization. In other countries this is called an investment in expertise. The more we modernize production, the larger will be our investments in expertise. Every new forward step in production must be opened up by science. To develop and exploit science we must have qualified personnel, including technological and management personnel.

IV. Improve the Management of Communes and Production Teams

Our country's agriculture has changed from a small-scale peasant economy to a socialist collective economy. Furthermore, it will develop step by step into a new agriculture characterized by modern technology as well as into specialized and socialized production. This requires a corresponding improvement in the management work of the people's communes in order to correspondingly improve and gradually implement scientific management. At present the management of the people's communes is still very backward. The chaotic conditions left over from the past have not yet been overcome. A process of rectification is necessary. The first thing to do is to establish planned management, and the prerequisite is to respect the power of the communes and production teams to act on their own.

Everyone agrees with the principle that communes and production teams should have the power to act on their own in production planning. The question is how to guarantee the simultaneous operation of the state's

purchasing plans. A solution needs to be discovered in practice. To guarantee that the state's purchasing plans work and to practice the principle of local autonomy, some localities have tried the system of drawing up contracts between the state purchasing departments and the production teams concerning purchases and marketing. The contracts only specify the responsibilities of the production teams as to the selling of their products to the state. However, no one can interfere with what is grown in the fields, how much is grown and how the crops are grown. All these matters are handled by the communes or production teams themselves. The results of one year's trial implementation have been very good. The problems concerning the grain purchase part of the contracts are not great for localities with relatively steady production. But for localities whose harvests are not steady, purchases must be cut in lean years and contracts cannot be fulfilled. Thus, the whole purchasing plan may be affected if purchases from some localities are cut while purchases from others cannot be increased. Methods for solving this problem must be further investigated. The system of drawing up contracts is proceeding in the correct direction. This has been affirmed in the decisions of the party Central Committee on some questions concerning the acceleration of agricultural development. Pilot projects can be launched in some places first. Methods of solving possible problems can be discovered. The system can then be widely extended.

After matters which had been thrown into disorder have been set to rights, those systems of labor management which have proven effective in the past will be restored on a preliminary basis.

The policy of distribution according to work is an effective one for consolidating the system of the people's communes and for developing the collective economy. The actual organizational forms for realizing the policy of distribution according to work are the system of production responsibility and the system of wage payment according to certain norms. The system of responsibility embodies collective and individual responsibility. The methods of wage payment are the time rate and the piece rate. The piece rate method for agricultural labor is to assess workpoints according to how well the work has been accomplished and on the basis of certain norms. The norms are formulated on the basis of the quality and quantity of social labor in a certain district, with different norms applied to different kinds of farmwork. In the past there was also a popular method of recording workpoints on the basis of time plus appraisal by the masses through discussion. For more than a decade these two methods of recording workpoints were not in use. In the past 2 years more than 60 percent of the production teams have readopted these systems. They have subdued the egalitarian phenomena of people swarming like bees for remuneration but remaining idle while they work. They have played a very important part in the development of production. Last year about 20 percent of the production teams practiced a system of small group production responsibilities. This system is related to output quantity and calls for the fixing of output quotas

for each small group. This system links the remuneration for labor under the system of collective responsibilities to the final results of production in a more direct form. After an initiation period of one year, this system is generally considered to be acceptable. Since a group is small, the commune members can gain a better insight into the conditions of production as well as the rewards. The quality of labor can thus be guaranteed. The group leader finds it easier to lead, and the commune members can enjoy democracy. The link between public and private interests becomes clearer, and the group members show a higher degree of concern for the whole group's production. These are advantages. However, this system also has its weaknesses. If things do not go well, it is easy to weaken unified economic accounting and the unified deployment of labor, so that single-level accounting occurs. Nowadays the situation in the countryside differs from that in the past. There are more fixed assets. Everywhere there are hand-guided tractors, pumping machines, irrigation works, barns, drying yards, and so on. When the production groups have become single-level accounting units, contentions may arise among the groups, which quickly leads to the carving up of property. There may even be disruptions in the sphere of production and sabotage of productive forces. Nowadays the countryside is no longer a small-scale peasant economy. If such a system of responsibility is adopted, unified accounting and unified distribution in the production team must be upheld. That is, the system of collective ownership must be safeguarded. Thus, the above-mentioned disadvantages may be avoided. On the whole, the right thing must be done at the right place. Whatever method is appropriate for a place should be adopted there. The collective economy as well as the personal interests of the masses must always be considered. Methods should not be implemented by force. We must not cut one thing into two with a knife--divide things into two distinct categories.

Another major problem in management is how to increase output and income. It is a widespread phenomenon that agricultural production costs are too high and net incomes too low. The causes are related to the prices of industrial and agricultural products, as well as to unsatisfactory management and the absence of economic accounting. Along with the gradual introduction of mechanization, consumption of the means of production will invariably increase. The question is how to guarantee that output will exceed input so that the whole business is profitable. Therefore, internally speaking, things that should be done for agricultural production are to institute economic accounting, make every effort to lower production costs and raise labor productivity. This in turn will lower the price of each product and increase the total output. All this requires that the communes and production teams be managed as enterprises. The economic accounting system should be constantly perfected, and great efforts must be made to raise the standards of management. Good examples of work done in this respect have been set in some localities. But such work has just begun for the country as a whole. How to compute costs, formulate various consumption norms and

practice quality management are questions which remain unanswered. The thing to be avoided most is neglect of the discovery, promotion and training of personnel qualified in agricultural management. We need tens of millions of agricultural economic management personnel who are conversant with modern scientific management techniques. Such personnel must be trained with more haste. To date it seems that this matter has still not been accorded the attention it deserves.

In the decisions on some questions concerning the acceleration of agricultural development the party Central Committee pointed out the way in which to achieve the modernization of agriculture as well as some specific policies in this respect. But we still lack practical experience and must study hard, explore bravely and cope with the needs of the development of our work as soon as possible.

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CORRECTLY CARRY OUT THE BONUS SYSTEM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 80 pp 9-11

[Article by Lu Feiwen [7120 2431 2429]]

[Text] Following the criticism of the ultraleftist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in recent years, the bonus system has been restored in many enterprises. Generally speaking, this system has played a great role in arousing the activism of the broad masses of workers and staff members and in promoting production; however, there have also been some defects. There are many reasons for these defects, but the most important one is that some comrades still do not clearly understand the nature of a bonus.

What is a bonus? There is a difference between a bonus and wages. Wages are remuneration for fixed-quota labor and are paid according to the average labor quota for laborers of the same grade. A bonus is remuneration for above-quota labor. In a socialist society, wages are the main and bonus the subsidiary form of remuneration for labor. Time wages are based on an assessment of the quality of labor according to the degree of technical skill and the quantity of labor according to the length of time; piece wages are a variation of time wages; by this variation, the quantity and quality of a laborer's labor are assessed according to the quantity and degree of technical complexity of the results of labor. However, these forms of wages have certain limitations. Time wages are computed at fixed periods. They remain fairly constant for a certain time and cannot reflect in good time the differences between the actual amounts of labor expended by workers of the same grade and within the same period. Piece wages can more realistically embody the principle "to each according to his work." However, it cannot accurately reflect certain contributions by the laborers, such as technical innovation, reduction of material consumption, improvement of the quality of products, and so forth. A bonus has the merits of flexibility, promptness, accuracy and adaptability and can be used to supplement wages in the all-round implementation of the principle "to each according to his work."

Above-quota labor is manifested in two different ways: first, in an increase in quantity, improvement of quality and addition to the varieties of products; second, in the reduction of material consumption and production costs. Both an increase in production and the practice of economy are ultimately expressed as increased profits for the enterprises. Therefore, the enterprises can appropriate part of the profits to be used as a bonus only when state plans have been fulfilled. Whether an enterprise should award its workers and staff members a bonus and, if so, how much they should award can only depend on the amount of their above-quota labor--a bigger bonus for more above-quota labor, a smaller bonus for less above-quota labor, and no bonus for no above-quota labor. A bonus must be considered in the light of the created value from above-quota labor before it can induce the laborers to be concerned with the fruits of their above-quota labor and further arouse their enthusiasm in technical innovation, in raising production, in reducing consumption and in increasing profits. Some enterprises have awarded bonuses before the state production plans were completed or even though these enterprises had suspended or partially suspended their operation. In other cases, bonuses were awarded even before the workers had fulfilled their work quota. All this means an encroachment on state profits and must be set right.

In the process of restructuring economic management it is necessary to gradually change the practice of making appropriations for a bonus according to the standing payroll in view of the characteristics of a bonus. If a bonus is related only to the standing payroll, people may have the misconception that a bonus is a type of supplemental wage. This relationship is unscientific, may even encourage certain enterprises to increase their personnel and would be detrimental to raising labor productivity. A bonus must be linked with an enterprise's above-quota profits before it can play the role of promoting production.

Since a bonus is a subsidiary form of remuneration, the total bonus fund of an enterprise is necessarily restricted by the total payroll. Recently, state authorities have stipulated that the total bonus fund for any enterprise cannot be more than 1.5 months' regular payroll in 1 year. A small number of advanced enterprises can appropriately increase the amount, subject to state approval, but the maximum bonus fund cannot be more than 2 months' regular payroll. Some comrades have suggested that because of the present low wage level among our enterprises the amount of the bonus should be increased as a supplement. This represents a confusion of the main issue with the side issues. The problem of low wages can be solved only gradually through production development. If a bonus is used improperly, it can only add to state expenditure without contributing to the rational solution of the wage problem.

A bonus is a form of material incentive to above-quota labor. Which form of bonus should be adopted so that it can play its role more

effectively? At present, enterprises generally use a comprehensive award or individual awards. Comprehensive awards are given on the condition that the workers have fulfilled the overall quota, while individual awards are given on the condition that a certain quota has been overfulfilled. Whether comprehensive or individual awards should be given depends on the enterprise's production requirements as well as the special characteristics of its work. Comprehensive awards should be used mainly when many different targets need to be examined together and when the result of labor should be shown as a whole. When individual targets can provide numerical data for examination and when incentives are required for their fulfillment, individual awards can be used. Individual awards are more clearcut and can very easily link material benefits with above-quota labor. Obviously they serve as a material incentive. However, there are many individual work items in an enterprise, and awards cannot be given for all of them separately. Therefore, it is necessary to select the key items, those items which can affect the overall situation or the weak links. The weak links of an enterprise can change from time to time, because the elimination of former weak links may be followed by the appearance of new ones. In this case, the individual awards for the former weak links should be replaced by new individual awards.

How can the amount of the bonus be computed in such a way that it will accurately reflect the actual above-quota labor and also promote stability and unity for the four modernizations? Experiences from many enterprises have shown that the evaluation for awards results in more harm than benefit. Since it is very difficult to set the required criteria for evaluation, and since there are no accurate figures to substantiate the differences between above-quota labor among the workers, the evaluation has often led to endless bickering. Thus, "the more complicated the evaluation, the longer will be the stalemate," so that finally the bonus fund had to be distributed evenly, or the first award had to be given by rotation. Therefore, despite its name of bonus, this is, after all, "eating out of the same pot," which can neither provide any incentive for the workers to learn from the advanced elements nor promote any stability and unity. The enterprise should divide up the quota set by the state and then pass the divided quotas down to the workshops, which in turn should further divide them up to be assigned to different teams and shifts or individuals, being careful that these assignments are consistent with individual aptitudes. The workpoints are then calculated every month and bonuses awarded accordingly. This is a clearcut method which is simple and can be used by anyone. There should be no restrictions, because anyone who has given an above-quota work performance will get the award. It is also consistent with the principle of awarding bonuses on the basis of above-quota labor. Enterprises adopting this method all felt that "both the awarding and the receiving of bonuses are justified; those who get more are satisfied, and those who get less have no complaint." This is conducive to stability and unity.

Can all enterprises enforce this bonus system? Not necessarily, because this system can be practiced only under certain conditions, such as comparatively normal supply, production and marketing; an advanced and rational labor quota and set standards for quality and the consumption of raw and semifinished materials; and good systems of accounting, statistics, delivery tests, firsthand records and management. In other words, it requires a sound enterprise management and a normal production order. Here let me briefly talk about the questions of a sound labor quota, standards for material consumption and the system of firsthand records.

The labor quota is the foundation of enterprise management on which the working out of production plans, the improvement of labor organization and the award of bonuses are all based. Without a correct labor quota there will be no basis for working out the award of bonuses, which in turn will not be able to provide any incentive.

A labor quota means the necessary labor for producing a certain product or for completing a certain project. A labor quota expressed in terms of time is called a work-time quota; expressed in terms of output it is called an output quota. A labor quota should be rational and based on an advanced level, meaning that its average level must be an advanced one. If a quota is set at only the average level or even below it, its incentive role will not be effective. On the other hand, if it is set too high, it will appear to be out of reach, and people may lose their self-confidence. Then it cannot provide any incentive either. The quota should be set at such a level that it can be attained with some extra effort.

How can a labor quota be advanced and rational? It should be worked out on the basis of full utilization of machinery and equipment, rational organization of labor and adequate attention to learning from advanced experiences. It should also be worked out with scientific methods. At present the methods of determination by technical means, assessment of experiences and statistical analyses are generally used. Each of these methods has its own merits as well as shortcomings and should be adopted in the light of realities in each enterprise. Along with the modernization of machinery and equipment, the emergence of new processes and changes in labor organization, the quota should be promptly revised to remain current.

The standard of material consumption is also a fundamental task of enterprise management. It is depended upon for the formulation of plans for material supply and the calculation of bonuses for frugality in the use of materials. The workers and staff members have to expend above-quota labor to keep the consumption of materials below the standard level. Since this above-quota labor has helped lower production costs and raise profits, it should therefore be rewarded in the form of a bonus. Whether or not workers and staff members are entitled to a bonus

for their above-quota labor used in other types of work, such as quality improvement or the safety factor, should also depend on whether such work can help keep material consumption below the set standard. Therefore, it can be said that perfecting control of the standard of material consumption is one of the prerequisites for enforcement of the bonus system.

The standard of material consumption refers to the quantity of consumption required for certain unit products or for certain production tasks. This standard can be expressed in an absolute as well as a relative figure. To enable the standard of material consumption to be advanced and rational, we should work it out on the basis of summing up advanced experiences and tapping material potentials. Also, it should be revised to conform to any change in the design of the product, the use of raw materials, improvement of the production process and the technical organization of the enterprises.

Firsthand records are indispensable to both the formulation of the quota and the computation of the bonus. They are the primary means for reflecting the productive and business activities of the enterprise, the workshops, the work teams and the individual workers and staff members. Control of firsthand records is the task of insuring the accuracy, promptness and completeness of this record of activities. Without this record the enterprise has no way of checking the productive activities of the workshops and individuals. If there is no accurate basis for calculating the bonus and the enterprise has to rely on only "estimates" or "impressions," equalitarianism will be inevitable.

At present there are instances of indiscriminate awarding of bonuses and the practice of equalitarianism. This is mainly because the enterprises concerned are in no condition to practice the bonus system and yet try to do the impossible. These enterprises should create the necessary conditions before practicing this system. Instead of hurriedly following the example of other enterprises, they should make some effort to improve their own management.

In practicing the bonus system we should be careful to strengthen ideological and political work. Some comrades hold that "with a bonus, people will be satisfied with their work" and that "all the preachings cannot be as good as a bonus." This idea is one-sided. Just as ideological and political work cannot substitute for a bonus, so a bonus cannot substitute for ideological and political work. Some enterprises have caused great harm by relying on a bonus alone to boost the workers' morale and thus neglecting ideological and political work. When some workers and staff members received their assignments, they invariably expected a bonus. Some of them, striving for quantity in order to be qualified for a bonus, discarded quality or used raw and semifinished materials lavishly. Instead of cooperating with one another, they even resorted to tricks for personal gain. These lessons have taught us that

ideological and political work should be properly carried out and that the workers' political consciousness must be raised in order to correctly practice the bonus system. This means mobilizing the broad masses of workers and staff members in developing the revolutionary spirit of pioneering and hard work, teaching them how to correctly handle the relationship between production and distribution, and convincing them that, without production increases and increased labor productivity, higher wages and the awarding of bonuses are impossible. In the bonus system in practice there has usually been the phenomenon of equalitarianism, that is, awarding a bonus regardless of whether the worker has fulfilled his labor quota or how much he has overfulfilled it. The broad masses of workers and staff members must be taught to understand that, under the system of public ownership, the equal distribution of bonuses or the practice of equalitarianism cannot arouse their activism. If the differences are not taken into account, it would mean an encroachment on the gains of those who have overfulfilled their labor quota, or the protection of the backward elements by penalizing the advanced ones. The bonus system, therefore, will not be able to serve as a material incentive and may even harm the development of production.

The question of how large a bonus to award reflects the relationship between production and distribution. In awarding a bonus we must consider the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. The enterprise and the individual can increase their income only provided an increase in state income is assured. Can a bonus be awarded for individual cases of high labor productivity? This calls for a concrete analysis. Large-scale socialist production should be considered an organic whole, and individual enterprises cannot be completely isolated from society. Their advanced technology and equipment and higher labor productivity are inseparable from state planning and social support. Therefore, although the enterprises having higher labor productivity and making greater contributions can award a little larger bonus, they should also consider the others and be careful that their bonus is not excessive.

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TALK ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LABOR EMPLOYMENT AND RAISING LABOR PRODUCTIVITY

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["Economics Column" article by Liu Zijiu [0491 1311 0036]]

[Text] Some people hold that there is a contradiction between high labor productivity and labor employment. They believe that the higher the labor productivity, the fewer the job opportunities and the more difficult the problem of unemployment. Therefore, in view of the huge number of people in our country, it would be preferable to use the tactics of human wave warfare instead of stressing higher labor productivity. I consider this view one-sided, metaphysical and undialectical.

This view would be quite true if we judge only from the temporary situation of a single unit. Provided there is no change in the scope and quantity of production, higher labor productivity would mean fewer job opportunities. However, if we take a comprehensive and long-range view, it will be different. The reason is that we must have funds in order to create more jobs for people. Where will the funds come from? They can neither fall from the sky nor crop up from underground. In the final analysis, the sources of funds for expanded reproduction can come only from higher labor productivity, and the problem of labor employment can be solved only under conditions of expanded reproduction. It cannot be solved under conditions of simple reproduction and even less under conditions of curtailed reproduction. Previously we have adopted the methods of feeding five persons with the food of three persons and sharing the work of three persons among five persons. But that was only a temporary expedient under certain special historical conditions (during the period of economic recovery shortly after liberation). It was neither a long-range plan nor a fundamental measure for solving labor employment.

At present our enterprises are using many people and have to work long hours, sometimes keeping the workers overtime. There is not even a regular system of time off, although 30 years have elapsed since the founding of the People's Republic. This shows that labor productivity in our country has been low after all. In countries where labor

productivity is high, one person can do the work requiring more than 5 or even 10 persons in our country. If they work 1 hour, we have to work more than 1, 2 or even 3 days.

For example, for a family of five in our country, two or three of them must work 8 hours a day to maintain a bare subsistence. If our labor productivity is trebled, then, in addition to the increase in accumulated funds for expanded reproduction, the actual income of this family will double, and the livelihood of the family of five can generally be maintained if only 1.5 of them work only 6 hours daily. Thus, the young people need not quit school in order to work, and the old women who can hardly walk without a cane need not work any more. From this we can see that higher labor productivity, instead of making labor employment more difficult, will even reduce the pressure on employment.

Now, because of the very low labor productivity in our country, few funds are available to create more jobs, and some enterprises even have a problem of surplus personnel because of insufficient work for them. Then how can we accommodate any additional people? Furthermore, because of our low labor productivity, the workers' pay and their power to purchase consumer goods are also low. Therefore, there can be no incentive for the production of more consumer goods, and as a result of the reduced production of the means of consumption, job opportunities are reduced instead of being increased. Because of the very low labor productivity in our country and the scarcity of accumulated funds for expanded reproduction, we are compelled to make use of foreign capital and pay a certain, and sometimes a very heavy, price. All the foreign capital to be used by us comes from countries with high labor productivity, and these countries on the other hand make use of the interest we pay them to increase job opportunities in their own countries. It is necessary that we make use of foreign capital. However, we can only utilize but not depend on it. We must rely on ourselves under the time-honored spirit of self-reliance.

"Large population and weak foundation"--this is a marked feature of our four modernizations. A large population means a large labor force, which is the subject now under discussion. The main substance of our "weak foundation" is the lack of funds for expanded reproduction. This is precisely the result of low labor productivity. As to the problem of a large population, as far as further plans are concerned, our party and state have already adopted active measures for planned parenthood and for the prevention of a blind increase in population. These, however, are for the solution of future problems. What we are confronted with now is the problem of labor employment.

Based on the actual situation in our country, the present problem of labor employment should be solved with the double-track system, or the so-called "walking with two legs" method. The so-called double-track system means that the present enterprises or establishments (including

government organizations or social groups now and henceforth) which can get by with fewer workers and raise their productivity (meaning work efficiency now and henceforth) should use fewer workers and raise their labor productivity. The money earned or saved should, in principle, be used for the state, the collective and the individual. On the one hand, the portion for the state and the collective should be used for expanded reproduction and to increase job opportunities. On the other hand, the remuneration for the personnel of these enterprises or establishments should be appropriately increased so that they can become better off a little earlier. With their income increased, they can turn around and promote the production of consumer goods with their increased purchasing power and thus increase job opportunities for the departments producing consumer goods. As for those enterprises or establishments which, because of restrictions caused by various conditions, cannot quickly raise their labor productivity, more workers are needed. This is an expedient which unfortunately cannot be avoided right now and which may last for some time. However, we must point out that the solution of this problem through higher labor productivity is a historical tendency which can never be reversed.

We must also see that, either on a worldwide or a nationwide scope, the natural shift of labor power is always from places of low labor productivity to places of high productivity, not the other way around. Of course, there are large numbers of unemployed people even in countries of high labor productivity such as the United States and West Germany. However, this situation is determined by the laws of the capitalist system of private ownership and is not the inevitable result of higher labor productivity. The problem can be solved rationally if higher labor productivity is combined with socialist and communist systems of public ownership.

Finally, it must be pointed out that, as we strive for the realization of the four modernizations by the end of this century, a higher labor productivity is the concentrated expression of the state of our economy. The purpose of our four modernizations is never to add to the difficulties of labor employment but, rather, to solve this problem in a thoroughgoing way. If realization of the four modernizations would only increase the number of unemployed, why should we strive for them?

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PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND SOVIET HEGEMONISM

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[Article by RED FLAG commentator]

[Text] The military action and occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet hegemonists has aroused worldwide protests and condemnation. The Soviet leadership group headed by Brezhnev has defended its invasion of Afghanistan with lies and pretexts. One of these lies is the argument that the Soviet action is a fulfillment of "international assistance" to the Afghans and that failure to do this is tantamount to "shirking internationalist duty."

To pass hegemonism off as internationalism and to carry out aggression and expansionist moves on the pretext of upholding internationalism is now obviously characteristic of Soviet social imperialism.

Soviet tanks rumbled through Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia, under cover of night on 20 August 1968 and occupied that country by brute force. After trampling on the Czechs' aspirations to free themselves from Soviet control, Brezhnev declared: "We are bound by our devotion to socialist internationalism to provide Czechoslovakia with internationalist assistance."

Taking advantage of dissension and disputes among a number of African countries, the Soviet Union since 1975 has sent Cuban mercenaries to occupy strategically located areas on the pretext of "fulfilling internationalist duty" and supporting the African national liberation movements.

With Soviet backing and planning, Vietnamese aggressive troops attacked Kampuchea in January 1979 and occupied Phnom Penh as well as vast Kampuchean territories. More than a month before the invasion was launched, the two hegemonists--the Soviet Union and Vietnam--signed in Moscow a "treaty of friendship and cooperation" which was actually a military alliance pact. According to the terms of the treaty, the Soviet Union would adopt measures to safeguard Vietnam's security in

the event it was attacked or faced the threat of invasion. After expressing deep gratitude to the Soviet Union for its help, Vietnamese leader Le Duan indicated that Vietnam would proudly fulfill its noble internationalist duty. However, subsequent events showed that the Soviet interpretation of "internationalist duty" implied Vietnam's annexation of Kampuchea, its occupation of Laos and an escalation of Vietnamese military provocations against China.

Particularly noteworthy was the reference by Moscow's propagandists to the Brezhnev doctrine of "limited sovereignty" during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. For example, the arguments over the Afghan issue were considered to have involved problems of a broader nature, such as "the simultaneous existence of internationalist support and the principle of nonintervention and sovereignty between countries." In other words, the Soviet invasion and occupation of other countries, toppling their governments and executing their leaders, supporting puppet governments they have installed with bayonets, suppressing resistance against aggression and so forth all conform to the "principle of sovereignty" as defined by the Soviet Union. To trample on the internationally recognized principle of sovereignty is in accord with the Soviet interpretation of "internationalism."

For many years the Soviet leaders have defended their acts of aggression and expansionist moves as "internationalist." They have also denounced those revolutionary political parties and socialist countries which have resolutely opposed Soviet control and intervention as "anti-Soviet" because they repudiated the "principle of internationalism" and advocated a closed-door policy. Such appalling examples of trampling on and distorting internationalism by the Soviet leadership should call for a searching review of the following problems:

1. Have any of the acts attributed to the Soviet leadership on an international scale conformed to the principle of proletarian internationalism?
2. Are those who advocate keeping the initiative in their own hands and opposing Soviet hegemony considered to be nationalist and against the Soviet Union?
3. Are the principles underlying national sovereignty and national independence outdated? What is the nature of the "theories" of "limited sovereignty," the "big family of socialism," "exporting revolution" and so forth?

Internationalism calls for friendly ties among the proletariat and the toiling people of various countries, urging them to unite closely in their struggle against exploitation and oppression and for building a new society.

In an attempt to fan discord and create splits among the people of various countries, the Soviet leaders have done their best to incite the Soviet people and the people of other countries to hate those countries which want to shake off Soviet control and oppression. They are particularly afraid of the solidarity and friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples and between the Chinese people and the peoples of other countries. They have maliciously spread rumors about China harboring "territorial ambitions" toward its neighbors, about Overseas Chinese acting as a "fifth column," about China "provoking" World War III to "destroy mankind," and so forth. They have even instigated the Vietnamese authorities to force their people to kill the Kampuchean and Chinese inhabitants who previously supported them in their anti-imperialist struggles. They have now forced Soviet soldiers to slaughter the Afghans. Can we find in history a more callous repudiation of internationalism?

According to the general rules governing international relations, countries should respect each other whether they are big or small, strong or weak, and should get along well with each other on an equal footing. If they are socialist countries, they should all the more respect other nations' independence and sovereignty and refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of others. Otherwise, the minimum requirements of internationalism will be violated, because proletarian internationalism recognizes that the principle of equality is applicable to all nations whether big or small.

The Soviet leaders, who regard the Soviet Union as a superpower, use their vast state apparatus and particularly the armed forces to bully small and weak countries. Brandishing clubs and arbitrarily interfering in the internal affairs of other nations, they have even invaded and occupied countries like Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. While they have offered economic and military aid to some countries, such assistance has merely served their global strategy of dominating the world and facilitated their control of countries which received their aid. This is vastly different from the principles of internationalism.

If under these circumstances a revolutionary political party of the proletariat upholds the principle of keeping the initiative in its own hands and refuses to dance to Moscow's tune, and if it leads the people to resist Soviet aggression, it is not a case of self-containment in a national sense but a forceful rebuttal of the Soviet betrayal of internationalism and does not run counter to the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

To those who have some knowledge of Marxism, there are two kinds of nationalism, that is, progressive nationalism and reactionary nationalism. During the democratic revolutionary stage, the proletarians championed the doctrine of national revolution, not nationalism. However, the proletariat must correctly distinguish between the two types of nationalism.

Progressive nationalism is an ally of the proletariat. It advocates national liberation and equality among the nations, in addition to opposing imperialism, colonialism, racial discrimination and hegemonism. Since it upholds national independence and state sovereignty, it conforms to the fundamental interests of the national proletariat and the general interests of the world proletariat. This progressive type of nationalism has been supported by Marxists past and present. It will be supported by them in the future. The Afghans' defiance of Soviet aggression and occupation is an example of this type of nationalism.

Reactionary nationalism seeks to place the interests of the ruling group above those of the people of other nations. As a ruthless example of reactionary nationalism, the Vietnamese authorities carried out genocide against ethnic Chinese and other minority groups in Vietnam and against the Kampucheans outside that country. On the other hand, the Soviet leadership's advocacy of superpower hegemonism exemplifies on a global scale the most harmful and dangerous form of reactionary nationalism. The ruling group's attempt to preserve backward and reactionary ideas and its rejection of progressive ones are recognized as other manifestations. In some countries this reactionary nationalism has become a factor of instability and conflict and has been exploited by the Soviet hegemonists to serve their disruptive activities. To oppose reactionary nationalism, and especially that advocated by the Soviet hegemonists, is precisely to uphold proletarian internationalism.

The so-called "anti-Sovietism" has often been used by the Soviet leadership to put labels on others. In many instances the struggles waged by the revolutionary people of the world against Soviet hegemonism have been identified as "anti-Sovietism" in an attempt to incite the Soviet people's nationalistic sentiments. It should be noted that the fundamental interests of the Soviet people conform to those of the people of other countries. Along with the other people of the world, the Chinese people have always cherished deep feelings for the Soviet people and for the glorious history of the Soviet socialist revolution and construction led by Lenin and Stalin. They are opposed only to the hegemonism practiced by the Soviet leadership group headed by Brezhnev, because it is characteristic of Soviet social imperialism.

Marx and Engels viewed the actions of those countries which oppressed and enslaved other nations as forging shackles and putting them on these nations. Lenin recognized this point of view as "a basic principle of internationalism and socialism." In a sense, the Soviet Union, in promoting its social imperialism, is engaged in enslaving other countries in the same way as any other imperialist country which oppresses other nations. In carrying out aggression against other countries and seeking territorial expansion beyond its borders, the Soviet leadership has in this sense repudiated the Marxist-Leninist principle of internationalism and socialism. Engels once described Germany's rape of Poland as a "stain" on German nationalism. By the same token, Lenin condemned

tsarist Russia for treating neighboring countries like serfs and thus damaging Russia's prestige. According to this allegedly correct criterion, the staunch advocate of anti-Sovietism is none other than the Soviet leadership. As a result of a policy of political reaction pursued by the Soviet leadership, the Soviet Union--once a true friend of the oppressed countries at a time when that nation was led by Lenin and Stalin--has now degenerated into a social imperialist country bent on subjugating other sovereign states, becoming by far the most ferocious enemy of a large number of countries. The struggles against Soviet hegemonism as waged in different ways by the Chinese people and the people of various countries are not so-called "anti-Sovietism" but rather internationalist support for the Soviet people who have faith in the teachings of Lenin and Stalin.

In the historical sense, the Soviet leadership's attitude toward other countries is a singular example of inheriting tsarist Russia's most detested political and ideological legacy. Its long record of oppressing and annexing small and weak countries that were its neighbors transformed this continually expanding empire into a "prison." Lenin once attributed tsarist Russia's deep-seated prejudices to its long history of suppressing the oppressed countries. He noted that these prejudices were responsible for hampering the emancipation of Russia. Lenin also observed that the practice of tsarism had corrupted the Russian nation and encouraged the Russians to despise other countries and foster the poisonous idea that only Russia should govern them. As the situation is today, the Soviet leadership's big nation chauvinism has reached the absurd stage of global hegemonism and encouraged the notion that the Soviet Union alone should be the arbiter and ultimate ruler of other countries. This shows the deep-seated influence of tsarism on the minds of the Soviet leaders.

The Soviet leaders have also cleverly disguised their fallacies of "limited sovereignty" and "the big family of socialism." According to their chauvinistic interpretation, it is outdated to talk about national sovereignty and independence, and any country which does so will be guilty of the sin of "self-containment" and even of "antisocialism and anti-Sovietism."

This view has reminded people of the fallacy of the "world doctrine" which gained currency in the Western world at the end of World War II. It argued that, because of the development of the economy and technology, the theories of nations and nationalism had become outdated and should be replaced by a "world state" and a "world government" led by the United States. At that time, theoretical circles in the Soviet Union viewed this as a variation of bourgeois nationalism, a reactionary idea developed from neocolonialism and advocated by U.S. imperialism to oppose the national liberation movement and socialist revolution, which were sweeping a number of countries. While this fallacy was smashed by the facts of history, the Soviet leadership has once again revived this

"theory" (the only difference being the substitution of Soviet domination for U.S. leadership), ironically on the pretext of advocating "limited sovereignty" and "a big family of socialism." If we call this a variation of the "world doctrine," nobody will feel outraged.

Generally speaking, there is a progressive tendency in the world to develop close ties in many ways among nations. However, this consolidation of ties in progressive stages should be based on the principles of national independence, territorial integrity and complete equality and should be free from national oppression and coercion. Lenin approved of Marx' view that forging ties among nations should be based on the principle of free union among the proletariat of various countries and not by means of brute force.

It is not outdated for countries to cherish national independence and state sovereignty. It is imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism that should be swept into the dust heap of history. While the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, the struggle for national liberation and struggles against imperialism and hegemonism are conducted on an international scale and are of international significance, they are also national in character because they are undertaken under specific circumstances that are more national than international. Since Soviet hegemonism has become increasingly rampant in trespassing on other nations and seriously threatening their independence, it has become all the more important and pressing for countries threatened by Soviet hegemonism to defend their sovereign rights and national independence. Soviet hegemonism has now become the arch enemy of world peace and the security of many countries. To wage uncompromising struggles against Soviet hegemonism and strike telling blows at its aggression and expansionist moves is a question of prime importance which is related not only to the interests of the people of various countries but also to the advancement of world peace and the progress of mankind.

The advocates of proletarian internationalism have always maintained that revolution is the concern of the people themselves. They believe it to be the inalienable right of the people of independent countries to choose their own political systems and paths to social development. This is because revolution cannot be exported. It is counterrevolutionary rather than revolutionary to impose alien rule on the people of a certain country by means of bayonets and guns. The Soviet Union's invasion and occupation of Afghanistan and its installation of a so-called "revolutionary regime" by means of bayonets and artillery pieces constituted a naked counterrevolutionary act of trampling on internationalist principles.

Soviet hegemonism is a gross reaction to and repudiation of proletarian internationalism. Ideologically, theoretically and politically, its damage to the cause of world socialism and national liberation is beyond estimation. Soviet hegemonism has fostered agents such as Cuba and

Vietnam. Although Soviet hegemonists callously trample on internationalism, they disguise themselves as "internationalists" in disrupting the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and in invading and annexing other countries. In their view, reactionary nationalism and hegemonism are not different from "internationalism," while true internationalism is deprecated as "big nation chauvinism" and "big nation expansionism." When the Vietnamese authorities released their white paper last year, they called black white by falsifying and tampering with history and writing off the massive aid provided by the Chinese people to Vietnam for several decades. Instead, China was accused of seeking to "weaken," "control" and "annex" Vietnam. Such a breach of trust and political degeneration are rare in the modern history of international relations.

Following the teachings of Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou, the Chinese people have always regarded supporting the people of other countries in their emancipation as part of their internationalist duty. We have never asked for compensation or privilege or used aid to interfere in the internal affairs of the other countries. To give international aid and respect the sovereign rights of other nations are guiding principles that we steadfastly observe in our relations with foreign countries. A firm believer in reciprocal aid, China has benefited from such aid in that it has enhanced its solidarity and friendship with other countries. This solidarity and friendship cannot be undermined by any reactionary force.

Through proletarian internationalism, the proletarians of the world share the common sentiment and ideal of establishing and developing their reciprocal relations. This fundamental principle is derived from their identical class status and mutually shared ideals.

Contradictions among the nations, fundamentally speaking, are engendered by class contradictions. Revolutionary teachers of the proletariat Marx and Engels predicted that once the exploitation of man by man ceased the exploitation of one country by another would also disappear. They likewise believed that once class antagonisms among nationalities ceased the hostile relations that existed between countries would also disappear. The awakened proletarians in various countries are convinced that what the revolutionary teachers predicted will some day come true, that the people of many countries will live in peace in a new world full of happiness. For many years they have called out: "Proletarians of the world, unite!"; "Proletarians and all oppressed nations of the world, unite!" To realize this great ideal, they have struggled together with renewed efforts. In the history of the international communist movement, and particularly in the uprising of the Paris Commune, during the October Socialist Revolution, in the Spanish war of the 1930's, in World War II and in the anti-imperialist struggles and national liberation movements, countless heroic and dedicated internationalist fighters emerged proudly. Their shining deeds have

been imprinted on the hearts of the proletarians of the world as well as on the oppressed nations, while their lofty internationalist spirit will always inspire the revolutionary people to fight for a new world order.

The reason we have exposed the Soviet leadership's betrayal of internationalism and its passing off of hegemonism as internationalism is to restore the original features of internationalism that it has distorted. It is necessary to inherit and carry forward the fine traditions of the world proletariat and oppressed nations in their struggles against ideas and deeds which betray proletarian internationalism, and first and foremost against Soviet hegemonism, the most ferocious enemy of proletarian internationalism. The shining banner of proletarian internationalism will lead the proletariat of the world and the revolutionary people to unite and win the final victory.

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CHINA'S SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE XISHA AND NANSHA ISLANDS AS SEEN FROM
INTERNATIONAL LAW

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[Article by Zhang Hongzeng [1728 7703 1073]]

[Text] The Xisha and Nansha Islands have been China's territory since ancient times. China's sovereignty over the Xisha and Nansha Islands gradually came about in the dim past and is based on a series of facts. China's sovereignty over these islands is in accord with the theories and practice concerning territorial sovereignty contained in international law.

First, these islands were first discovered and named by the Chinese people. In accordance with international law, the country of the discoverers of unclaimed land has priority in occupying that land, and the discovering country has the right to occupy it within a certain period of time and to assume sovereignty over it.

Second, since ancient times Chinese fishermen have lived on these islands and engaged in fishing, planting and other productive activities. All this shows that these islands have in fact been occupied by China. The establishment of residential areas on unclaimed land is an important act that signifies the occupation of the land; the nationality of the residents is also significant proof to verify which country has a claim to the land. Another proof of a country's sovereignty over unclaimed land is the fact that the country's citizens use and manage the land.

Third, the Xisha and Nansha Islands have for a long time been under the jurisdiction of successive Chinese governments. As early as the Song dynasty, Chinese naval patrols reached the Xisha Islands. Up to the early 1930's, before the French began invading the Xisha and Nansha Islands, China's sovereignty over these islands was never disputed. According to international law, a country's successive and peaceful jurisdiction over territory is proof that the territory belongs to that country.

The following is a discussion of the above-mentioned points.

I. The Xisha and Nansha Islands Were First Discovered and Named by the Chinese People; Therefore, China Has Priority in Occupying These Islands

From historical records we know that as early as the Han dynasty the Chinese people already knew that there were coral reefs in the South China Sea (it was then called the Zhanghai Sea). In the Jin dynasty there was an account of Chinese fishermen fishing and collecting coral there. In recent years our country's archeological workers have discovered ruins of living quarters and a number of articles of daily use on the Xisha Islands. These proved that Chinese people lived and engaged in fishing and other productive activities at least as early as the Tang and Song dynasties. During the period of the Song and Yuan dynasties China had already named islands in the South China Sea Qianlichangsha [thousand-li sand cays] and Wanlishitang [ten thousand-li rocky reefs] and was familiar with their relative position and geographical features. For example, the "Annals of Feudatory States" of the Song dynasty said: "When we arrived at Juyang we discovered that the waters there were the roughest, with furious waves breaking over the rocks... Zhancheng was situated to the south and Zhenla to the west. Qianlichangsha and Wanlishichuang (Tang) lay to the east. The sea was vast and boundless. The sky and water were the same color. The ships sailing to and fro had to depend on compasses. Sailors kept close watch day and night, because the slightest error was a matter of life and death." (Zhao Rushi, "Annals of Feudatory States," Vol 2) "Zhancheng" is in the central part of present-day Vietnam, and "Zhenla" is in present-day Kampuchea. Qianlichangsha and Wanlishichuang generally referred to the islands in the South China Sea. "A Brief Account of the Islands" of the Yuan dynasty said: "The ridges of the rocky reefs extended from Chaozhou. They looked like a long snake and stretched to the sea." "We looked over the sea, which was vast and stretched beyond the horizon. There were rocky reefs hidden in the middle of the sea. Everyone knew that it was lucky if sailors could avoid them. Otherwise, it would mean disaster. Therefore, the effectiveness of navigational instruments was a matter of life and death. Without skillful sailors, ships would have frequently struck the reefs, and passengers would have been drowned." (Wang Da Yuan, "A Brief Account of the Islands, Ten Thousand-Li Rocky Reefs," p 93) The above description shows that as early as 700 or 800 years ago the Chinese people already knew that the Xisha and Nansha Islands were dangerous areas for navigation. It was "lucky if sailors could avoid them. Otherwise, it would mean disaster." Their views were identical with that of present-day navigators.

Zheng He sailed to the west seven times, and he knew more about various islands in the South China Sea. On "Zheng He's Navigation Map," "Shixingshitang," "Wanshengshitangyu" and "Shitang" were designated. According to their geographical positions, "Shitang" was Xisha Island, "Wanshengshitangyu" was Nansha Island and "Shixingshitang" was the

Zhongshe and Dongsha Islands. "Hai Records of Things Seen and Heard About the Coastal Regions" of the early Qing dynasty names the Dongsha, Zhongshe, Xisha and Nansha Islands, respectively.

Historical textual research has proved that Arab navigators such as Suleiman and others who were the first to come to the Far East called the South China Sea "Canhay," as the Chinese did. ("Travel Notes of Suleiman," translated by Liu Fu and published by Zhonghua Bookstore, 1937, p 22) The Xisha Islands are now commonly called the "Paracels" in the West; this name originated from the Portuguese word meaning "reef." It was translated from the word "shitang" in the Chinese language. The more elucidative point is that the common English names of some islands in the Xisha Archipelago of China were the transliteration of names used by the Chinese fishermen of Hainan Island. We arrange them in the following table for explanation.

Official Chinese Names

Hong Xiu Dao [7703 1652 1497]
Jing Hong Dao [2529 1347 1497]
Zhong Ye Dao [0022 2814 1497]
Tai Ping Dao [1132 1627 1497]
Zhu Bi Jiao [3252 4310 4339]

Names Used by Fishermen of Hainan Island and Pronounced in Local Dialect

Namyit
Shingao
Hitu Widuabe
Siubi

English Names Commonly Used in the West

Namyit Island
Sincowe Island
Thitu Island
Itu Aba
Subi Reef

The "China Sea Directory" (published in 1868) described how Englishmen learned from the Chinese fishermen the names of some islands and their geographical positions. The specific names they learned from fishermen were cited in the book.

The above-quoted materials prove that it was the Chinese people who first discovered and named the Xisha and Nansha Islands. The Chinese people were already familiar with these two islands long before the Western colonialists came to the East.

According to present-day international practice, the geographical discovery of unclaimed land gives the discoverers priority to occupy it. Such priority is sometimes called "preliminary right" and sometimes "incomplete right." Therefore, China has priority to occupy the Xisha and Nansha Islands. China's occupation of these two islands was an action that followed their discovery. This conforms to a logical development. Other countries do not have the right to occupy them unless China does not intend to or gives up its priority.

II. Chinese Fishermen Have Developed and Administered These Islands for More Than 1,000 Years, Which Fully Proves That China Has Sovereignty Over Them

Chinese fishermen have engaged in fishing and other productive activities on various islands in the South China Sea for more than 1,000 years. For instance, the "Chronicles of Guangzhou" of the Jin dynasty said: "The coral isles lie 500 li to the south of (Dong Wan) County. The ancients engaged in fishing in the sea and discovered the coral isles." (Fei Yuan, "Chronicles of Guangzhou")

During the Ming and Qing dynasties more and more Chinese fishermen used the Xisha and Nansha Islands as their bases and engaged in fishing in the nearby waters. Every winter they sailed to the south by using the northeast monsoon, catching green turtles, sea cucumbers, oysters, snails and so forth in the waters near the Xisha and Nansha Islands. They lived on the islands and planted coconut trees, bananas, papayas and sweet potatoes and built simple living quarters and temples. With the exception of some fishermen who stayed on the islands permanently to engage in production, most of the fishermen returned to their native places with fruitful results during the 4th and 5th moons, that is, before the beginning of the typhoon season. They continued to do this year after year without interruption. The coconut trees they planted flourished, and some grew to be more than 100 years old. There were more than 1,000 coconut trees of this kind on Yongxing Island and 200 on Taiping Island. Some fishermen died on the islands, and their tombstones were erected there. (According to "A New Brief Account of Islands in the South Sea" there were two tombs on Beizi Island. One of the tombstones was inscribed: "Weng Wenqin, died in the 11th year of the reign of Tongzhi"; the other was inscribed: "Wu X X, died in the 13th year of the reign of Tongzhi." The book is now in the Guangdong Sun Yat-sen Library.)

According to investigations made by our research institutes, during the 1930's, when France was planning to invade and occupy the Xisha and Nansha Islands, there were 500 to 600 or 700 to 800 Chinese fishermen who lived temporarily or permanently and engaged in productive activities on these islands every year. Most of them came from Wenchang and Qionghai counties in Guangdong Province. They had their own "Navigation Directory" to help them sail to these islands. (The "Navigation

Directory" was used by Chinese fishermen and passed on for generations.) This directory described how they named the islands and reefs and how they charted their course. They dug wells on various islands and planted coconut trees. Fishermen lived and engaged in productive activities on islands where fresh water was available. Most of them would be replaced by others after living there for 2 or 3 years. Some of them lived on the islands for 6 to 8 or even 18 years.

The French invaders were witnesses to the fact that Chinese fishermen were living on these islands. For example, when a French vessel arrived at Zhofwye Island in 1933 the French saw five Chinese fishermen living on the island. They also learned that "there was a freshwater well which produced enough water for five people. Apart from fishing, the inhabitants planted coconut trees, bananas and sweet potatoes and dug for phosphorus." (Ling Chunsheng, "A Geography of French-Occupied Islands in the South Sea," published in Vol 7, No 4 of FANGZHI YUEKAN, April 1934) The French saw seven Chinese people on Shuangzi Island, two of whom were children. They all came from Hainan Island. The French saw four Chinese people on Nanwei Island, which meant that there was one more person than at the time the French visited the island in 1930. The French said: The Chinese fishermen dug freshwater wells and planted coconut trees, bananas, sweet potatoes, vegetables and so forth. Their main occupation was catching green turtles. On Taiping Island the French discovered "a hut made of wood and leaves, a well-managed sweet potato plot and a shrine on which were placed a teapot and an earthen jar for worshipping a god. This was the family god of the Chinese fishermen. In the hut there was a wooden board with Chinese characters which said: 'I am shipowner Mao De. I came here in the middle of the 3d moon to bring you grain, but I found no one here. Now I am putting the grain under the stones. I am leaving.'" (L'ILLUSTRATION, Issue No 4715, p 382, 15 July 1933) The French located the rice by following the clue.

Actually, Britons gave a similar account 60 or 70 years earlier than the French. At that time a British vessel ("Redfordman") conducted a survey along the Xisha and Nansha Islands. Its reports said: "On various islands there were traces of fishermen from Hainan Island. Their main occupation was catching sea cucumbers and shellfish. They lived on the island all year round, and their grain and food were supplied by residents of Hainan Island who sailed in small boats and exchanged the grain for sea cucumbers and shellfish." (Hu Huanyong, "Various Islands in the South Sea Coveted by France and Japan," published in DIPLOMATIC REVIEW, Vol 3, No 5, 1934)

In 1918, when a Japanese called Unosuke Ogura was "exploring" Nansha Island, he saw the activities of Chinese fishermen there. In his "A Stormy Island" he gave the following account: He met three Chinese on Nanzi Island. These three Chinese fishermen had come to Nansha Island 2 years before. They lived in a hut, and their work was to catch sea

cucumbers. Every year, during the 12th and 1st moons of the lunar year, a big ship came from Hainan Island to pick up marine products. In the 3d or 4th moon other fishermen would come and replace them. One of the fishermen who had a compass sketched a map for Unosuke Ogura which was later printed in the book "A Stormy Island." Ten rocky reefs were designated on the map, showing the distance between them. The names of these rocky reefs on the map were those habitually used by the Chinese fishermen of Hainan Island, including Widuabe (Taiping Island), Hitu (Zhongye Island) and Namyit (Hongxiu Island). (Zeng Dabao, "Xinnan Archipelagos Are Ours," published in DAGONG BAO, 4 August 1946)

The Chinese fishermen's expeditions and productive activities on the Xisha and Nansha Islands were well organized. The chief crewmen were selected from among veteran fishermen who were experienced in navigation. The ships usually sailed in a group and scattered here and there to carry out their operations after they had arrived at their destinations. The ships were armed with homemade cannons made of coconut trees for self-defensive purposes. In 1933 the Chinese fishermen carried out a struggle against the French invasion of Nansha Island. An old fisherman, Meng Quanzhou, and others said: When the French invaded Nanwei Island they erected a flagpole on the island and hoisted their tricolor flag. That night the Chinese fishermen chopped it down and put in on their ship. The next day, when the Frenchmen discovered that their flag had disappeared, they sailed toward the island, chased the Chinese fishing ships and carried out provocations against the Chinese fishermen. A Chinese shipowner named Huang Xueshi and others were compelled to attack the French with their homemade cannons in self-defense. Afterward, the French vessel gave up its chase.

The Chinese Government authorized and supported the Chinese fishermen to live and engage in fishing, planting and other productive activities on the Xisha and Nansha Islands. This is evidence that China is entitled to exercise sovereignty over these islands, because claiming a territory not only involves a country's jurisdiction but also the fact that the people of that country are engaged in economic activities in the territory. In particular, in the agricultural economy of the oriental tradition, if the people of only one country live or work in a certain place, with no other country engaged in the same activities, then the territory should belong to that country. This is a principle commonly followed by various countries in the practice of delimiting a boundary.

In 1953 the International Court of Justice adopted the following decision in the *Minquiers and Ecrehos* case: The fact that British people have lived on these islands is proof that these islands belong to Britain. Judge (Karneylo) further explained: "The individual existence of residents of a certain country might mean or involve the right of occupation of that country... In a place which borders two countries and over which the two countries claim sovereignty, the activities of the individuals become particularly important." (D. P. O'Connell, "International Law," Vol 1, p 482)

Not long ago such a principle was pursued in arbitrating a dispute between India and Pakistan over the area of the Rann of Kutch. The Rann of Kutch is a barren and uninhabited land bordering India and Pakistan and has some natural grazing grounds. The Rao of Kutch once proclaimed that the land belonged to it. India claimed the land because India was supposed to be the successor of the Rao of Kutch. Pakistan maintained that, because the Rann of Kutch originally belonged to Sind Province of Pakistan, Pakistan was entitled to the land. After the outbreak of the 1965 India-Pakistan war, both sides decided to present the case to the Court of Arbitration. In 1968 the Court of Arbitration, headed by a Swede named (Kenan Krakorun), adjudicated the case: Most areas of the Rann of Kutch were incorporated into India, because India had presented evidence beneficial to delimiting the boundary. However, the two grazing grounds which had been used by the people on the Pakistan side, namely, Dhara Banni and Chhad Bet, were awarded to Pakistan. In passing judgment the chairman of the Court of Arbitration said: "The border between territories under different sovereignty still marks a strict division of economic rights as well as government functions." ("International Legal Materials," 1968, p 674) He added: "Both the inhabitants of Sind who have openly used the grazing grounds for over 100 years and the Sind authorities must have acted on the basis that Dhara Banni and Chhad Bet were Sind territory." (Ibid., p 689)

Commenting on this judgment, Ian Brownlie, a British expert on international law, said in his "International Law": "This judgment has shown that in an agricultural and traditional economy the differences of rights and interests between a state and individuals are not as clear as in a modern economy. In an agricultural economy the economic activities of herders and other owners of private land might be taken as evidence justifying sovereignty over the land." (Ian Brownlie, "International Law," 1973, p 146)

In accordance with the judgment quoted above, the fact that the Chinese people have lived on the Xisha and Nansha Islands for several hundred years and have successively developed and administered them and that no other countries have engaged in similar activities can be taken as ample proof that China has sovereignty over these islands. The activities of the Chinese fishermen changed the natural features of these islands, because they planted lofty coconut trees and built houses and temples and so forth. The Chinese fishermen, who are supported and protected by the Chinese Government, are the indisputable owners of these islands. Therefore, when France invaded these islands in the 1930's they were no longer "unclaimed land" but had long been incorporated into Chinese territory. The once illegal occupation of these islands has not changed the fact that they have been China's territory since ancient times.

III. China's Sovereignty Over the Xisha and Nansha Islands Is Determined by China's Exercise of State Power Over Them

China's sovereignty over the Xisha and Nansha Islands is based not only on China's discovery and naming of these islands, in addition to the activities of the Chinese fishermen, but also on the state power it exercises over them. Territory generally means a country's exclusive jurisdiction over a land. Therefore, in a territorial dispute an act of jurisdiction is also an important condition which determines the ownership of the land.

We should point out that the methods of jurisdiction differ in the light of differences in time and place. In the case of a dispute involving an uninhabited or barely inhabited land with poor communication, the International Court of Arbitration has often held that it is sufficient for any contending party to produce a small amount of evidence of its jurisdiction over the land to support its claim, especially when the other party fails to produce any better evidence. With regard to the matter of jurisdiction over the Xisha and Nansha Islands, the Vietnamese side is not able to produce any effective evidence, but China can in many ways provide a large amount of evidence concerning its jurisdiction over these islands.

China's jurisdiction over the Xisha and Nansha Islands was carried out in many ways, including dispatching naval patrols, protesting against foreign invasions, setting up an administration, authorizing the exploitation of mines, stationing troops, and so forth. Chinese naval patrols began as early as the Song dynasty. It is recorded in the "Outline Record of Military Affairs" of the Northern Song that the Northern Song court "ordered patrols by imperial forces and the building of barracks for naval patrols"; "sailing in a southwesterly direction from Tunmen Shan, with a fair east wind, the warships can reach Jiuruluozhou in 7 days." (Zeng Gongliang, "Outline Record of Military Affairs," Vol 20, pp 15-16) Jiuruluozhou was the name for today's Xisha Islands. According to the "History of Quanzhou" of the Qing dynasty, Wu Sheng, vice admiral of the Guangdong fleet, led a naval patrol and "went personally on an inspection tour, setting out for Qiongya, rounding Tonggu and passing through Qizhouyang and Sigengsha, covering 3,000 li." (Huang Ren and Guo Gengwu, "History of Quanzhou," Vol 56, pp 43-44) "Qizhouyang" refers to today's sea areas around the Xisha Islands. During the late Qing period, acting under orders of the governor of Guangdong and Guangxi, Li Zhun, admiral of the Guangdong fleet, led three warships on an inspection tour of the Xisha Islands in 1909. A flag was hoisted, a gun salute was fired and names were carved on stone tablets. He reiterated to the whole world that the Xisha Islands are China's territory. After returning to Guangzhou, Lu Zhun displayed the products he had brought back from the islands.

China's sovereignty over the Xisha and Nansha Islands has always been clear and definite. Therefore, when a German survey ship conducted a survey on the Xisha and Nansha Islands in 1883, China's Guangdong authorities lodged a protest, forcing the German ship to stop its activities. (Cheng Tianxi, "Collection of Materials on the Xisha and Dongsha Islands," 1928) As seen from a legal viewpoint, a protest against a foreign power's illegal activities also demonstrates a country's sovereignty over its territory.

In 1911 the Chinese Government announced that the Xisha Islands had been put under the administration of Yaxian County, Guangdong Province. In 1921 the Ministry of Interior of the Chinese Government approved a license for He Ruinian, a merchant of Guangdong Province, to engage in fishing, planting and mining on the Xisha Islands. When he was later found to have transferred the license to Japanese merchants, the license was withdrawn in 1927. In 1928 the Guangdong Provincial Government sent a large study group consisting of military and civil officers, scientists and technicians to the Xisha Islands to make on-the-spot investigations. The above-quoted facts are known to all, and no country has ever raised any objection to them. This proves that China's sovereignty over the Xisha Islands has been recognized by all.

Aware of the strategic importance of the Xisha Islands in the early 1930's, France tried to seize them and to occupy some nearby islands by taking the opportunity of China's resistance against Japanese aggression. The then Chinese Government immediately made strong representations and protested to the French authorities as the Chinese people rose in protest and indignation. At that time France tried to occupy the Xisha Islands under the pretext that the Empire of Annam had a so-called "prior title" to these islands. This was completely groundless and was strongly refuted by documents issued by the Chinese Foreign Ministry on 30 January this year. The pretext France had used to invade the Nansha Islands was that they were so-called "unclaimed land," which was of course absurd, because these islands had long been owned by China. A committee to examine land and sea maps of the Chinese Government specially checked and approved the names of the South China Sea islands in 1935. In that same year the committee compiled and printed the "Map of the South China Sea Islands," on which the Xisha, Nansha and other islands were clearly marked as belonging to China. The Chinese Government set up a meteorological observatory, a radio station and lighthouses on the Xisha Islands in 1936. Chinese naval patrols were once again dispatched to these islands in 1937.

When the Japanese imperialists launched a war of aggression, the Xisha and Nansha Islands were occupied by Japan. Following the Japanese surrender, the then Chinese Government designated senior officials in November and December 1946 to proceed to these two islands by warships and take control of them. Ceremonies were held, stone tablets erected and troops garrisoned. Since that time, Chinese troops have

been stationed on these islands. This was followed by the renaming of the various islands in the South China Sea by the then Chinese Government in 1947. Thus, the Xisha and Nansha Islands, once illegally seized by foreign powers, were restored to the jurisdiction of the Chinese Government.

We should point out: Before the early 1930's it was only the Chinese Government which exercised state power over the Xisha and Nansha Islands, with no other countries engaged in any similar kind of activities; from the early 1930's on only China's jurisdiction over these two islands should be considered legal, since the so-called "jurisdiction" of other countries originated from a purpose of aggression.

China's sovereignty over the Xisha and Nansha Islands is widely acknowledged internationally. (For example, at the San Francisco Peace Conference held in 1951, Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Andre Gromyko said that the Xisha and Nansha Islands "are China's inalienable territory." In 1974 then Indonesian Foreign Minister Malik said that "the Paracels and Spratley archipelagos belong to China." In 1952 the "Standard World Atlas," which bore the signature of then Japanese Foreign Minister Katsuo Okazaki, designates all the Xisha and Nansha Islands as part of China. A conference of the International Civil Aviation Organization held in 1951 in Manila adopted a resolution requesting the Taiwan authorities of China to set up a meteorological observation post on the Nansha Islands.) We should particularly point out that before 1974 the Vietnamese authorities always acknowledged the Xisha and Nansha Islands as being Chinese territory. For instance, on 15 June 1956 Vietnamese Vice Foreign Minister Nguyen Khiem stated to Li Zhimin, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy in Vietnam, that "according to historical data the Xisha and Nansha Islands are part of Chinese territory." In its declaration of 4 September 1958 the Chinese Government proclaimed the breadth of the territorial sea of the People's Republic of China to be 12 nautical miles and explicitly stated that this provision applies to all Chinese territory, including the Xisha and Nansha Islands. On 14 September that same year, Premier Pham Van Dong of the Vietnamese Government solemnly stated in his note to Premier Zhou Enlai of the Chinese State Council that "Vietnam recognizes and supports" the declaration of the Chinese Government. No differing opinion was aired concerning the fact that the Xisha and Nansha Islands are Chinese territory. In its statement of 9 May 1965 on the U.S. Government's designation of a "combat zone" for its forces in Vietnam, the Vietnamese Government once again mentioned the "Xisha Islands of the People's Republic of China."

Since the Vietnamese authorities have explicitly recognized China's sovereignty over these two islands, they have no grounds in international law to register any opposition to the ownership of these two islands. There was a significant international example in this respect: Dealing with a case concerning the "legal status of eastern

Greenland," the Permanent Court of International Justice in 1931 pointed out that since Ihlen, foreign minister of Norway, had told the Danish minister "that the Norwegian Government would not make any difficulties" in recognizing Denmark's sovereignty over all of Greenland, Norway "should assume the duty not to raise any opposition to Denmark's sovereignty over the entirety of Greenland and its occupation of any part of Greenland." (L. C. Green, "International Law Through Cases," 1951, p 160) The Vietnamese Government's recognition of China's sovereignty over the Xisha and Nansha Islands is more explicit than Ihlen's verbal statement. Therefore, it should carry out its legal commitments not to dispute China's sovereignty over these two islands, much less occupy some of China's Nansha Islands.

The fact that the Vietnamese authorities have gone back on their word and acted falsely in the case of the problems regarding ownership of the Xisha and Nansha Islands has shown to what a horrifying extent the Vietnamese expansionists have trampled upon and sabotaged the practice of acknowledged international law.

CSO: 4004

THE WHOLE PARTY OBEYS ITS CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 80 pp 25-27

[Article by Hong Shu [3263 5289]]

[Text] An utterly glorious and arduous task for us is to advance toward the great goal of the four modernizations, by means of which our countryside will gradually become a prosperous new countryside. Our industries will gradually become advanced industries capable of meeting the needs of social consumption and of developing the whole national economy, our science and technology will catch up with and surpass the advanced world level and we will have a national defense strong enough to resist and defeat foreign invaders in a modern war. We have now entered the 1980's, a decade having a most important bearing on the realization of the four modernizations. Our task is highly pressing and very heavy. To score decisive results in realizing the four modernizations during the 1980's, the whole party and the Chinese people of all nationalities must display great tenacity and make unremitting efforts. The Chinese Communist Party is the core leading our cause of socialism. We must firmly uphold and improve our party leadership in order to mobilize and lead hundreds of millions of people to win one victory after another in achieving socialist modernization.

To uphold and improve party leadership, we must strengthen party discipline. The reason is that only by maintaining unified discipline can the party have strong fighting power; only when the party has strong fighting power can it strengthen its leadership over the socialist cause. Therefore, it is now necessary to reiterate the principle of party discipline: individuals obey the organization, the minority obeys the majority, subordinates obey their superiors and the whole party obeys its Central Committee. In particular, it is necessary to stress that the whole party should obey its Central Committee.

Reviewing historical experience helps us understand the vital significance of the principle that the whole party should obey its Central Committee. Our party is a vanguard contingent of the proletariat armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is the highest form of

proletarian organization, uniting the whole party by means of unified discipline. Without unified discipline, the party cannot be united and is powerless. The party once rectified the wrong tendency in which the Wang Ming "left" opportunism, by turning centralism into the autocracy of a few people and suppressing the enthusiasm and creativeness of party members and party organizations at all levels, wrote off inner-party democracy and enforced rigid discipline. The party also rectified the wrong tendency toward decentralism characterized by the phenomena of not respecting the decisions of the party Central Committee, each acting in one's own way, violating the party's policies and endangering the party's unity. An important document issued in 1941, the "Decision of the CCP Central Committee on Strengthening Party Spirit," aimed at rectifying the latter tendency. This "decision" pointed out emphatically: "Inside the party, greater emphasis should be laid on the unity and centralism of the whole party and on the importance of obeying the leadership of the Central Committee." In such two-line struggles against wrong tendencies, our party achieved solid unity and generated a strong fighting power ideologically, politically and organizationally. The whole party firmly implemented the line and the specific and general policies laid down by the party Central Committee regarding the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, and it led the people of the whole country to win one victory after another. This is the party's precious experience in developing itself ideologically and organizationally. We must firmly bear this in mind.

The whole party obeys its Central Committee. That is to say, party organizations at all levels and all party members must firmly and unconditionally carry out the line and the specific and general policies laid down by the National Party Congress and the party Central Committee and obey the decisions made by the party Central Committee. This was laid down in the party constitution adopted by the Eighth National Party Congress in 1956: "With regard to the questions concerning the party's policies, before the party's leading organ has made a decision, members of the party organizations and committees at lower levels may freely and realistically discuss these questions within the party organizations and at party meetings and forward their suggestions to the party's leading organ. However, once the party's leading organ has made a decision, they must obey it. When a lower-level organization finds a decision made by a higher-level organization incompatible with the actual situation of the local area or a local department, it may ask the higher-level organization to change this decision. However, when the higher-level organization insists on this decision, the lower-level organization must carry it out unconditionally." Our party has always acted according to this rule. It practices democratic centralism, which is centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance. The party's discipline is conscious discipline. It is based on a full display of inner-party democracy. Before making a major decision, the party Central Committee always solicits opinions as widely as possible and allows free expression of different opinions. Many of the important

directives of the party Central Committee are first transmitted in the form of a draft to the localities for discussion and experimentation. The opinions expressed in discussions and the experiences gained from experiments are pooled together. The directives are then revised and formally promulgated. This insures that the decisions of the party Central Committee are correct, are a concentration of the wisdom and experience of the whole party, represent the will and wishes of the broad masses and are compatible with actual conditions and are practical. However, even when these decisions have been discussed extensively and democratically and put to experimentation, opinions will invariably diverge inside the party, because conditions develop and change or because different people think differently. The party's decisions are a concentration of the opinions of the majority and have been put into practice. Therefore, every party member should firmly carry them out. He may reserve his differing opinions or express them at party meetings. Until the party Central Committee makes any changes in its decisions, he must firmly follow these decisions and act accordingly. When expressing his opinions, he must not be opinionated and talk willfully and openly against the party's line and general and specific policies. In this way, the rights of party members will be respected without delaying the party's work, and the party will not be turned into a club where people are engaged in endless dispute without doing anything. Otherwise, the party will be lax organizationally and discordant in action and will lose its fighting strength. This will greatly harm the cause of the party and the people.

The whole party obeys its Central Committee. This has been our party's fine tradition. Our party formerly enjoyed high prestige among the people. No matter what great hardships we met with in the course of revolution and construction, once the party Central Committee issued a call, the party and the people of the whole country acted accordingly. All problems were solved smoothly under the leadership of the party Central Committee and by relying on the strength of the masses. However, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" went wild, kicked aside the party committee to make "revolution," wantonly criticized the so-called "theory of a docile tool," went all-out to incite the practice of suspecting all and negating all and to stir up anarchism, substituted their gang for the party and exercised the gang's leadership and rule. As a result, the principle that the whole party should obey its Central Committee was trampled, the party's prestige impaired and its discipline relaxed, and the party lost its fighting strength. Therefore, during the current four modernizations, special stress should be put on the tradition that the whole party obeys its Central Committee.

At present there are obstacles to the restoration of the tradition that the whole party obeys its Central Committee. Although we have destroyed the factional setup of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," we must not underestimate some of their organizational and ideological remnants. The ideological and political lines laid down at the third plenary

session of the 11th party Central Committee have been proved in practice to be entirely correct. However, some people still try to vilify and resist them, feign compliance while actually opposing them or play doubledealing tricks with them. These deeds sabotage the party's organizational discipline and impede stability and unity. They must not be allowed to spread unchecked and to go on developing. Moreover, we should also see that some of our comrades support the party's ideological and political lines but do not implement them unconditionally and firmly. They proceed from local and short-term interests and even from their personal wishes. They carry out the party's decisions which are advantageous and agreeable to them and refuse to carry out those which are disadvantageous and disagreeable. Some comrades misunderstand and even resent the party's policy of emancipating the mind and starting the machine of thinking, seeking truth from facts and marching forward in unity. Others are hesitant about the general task of accomplishing the four modernizations before the end of this century as put forward by the party Central Committee, are not doing their best to carry out the policy of readjusting the national economy as laid down by the party Central Committee, and so forth. All this behavior reflects their lack of the overall point of view and lack of party spirit. They forget that a communist must firmly carry out the line and the general and specific policies formulated by the party Central Committee and is not allowed to go his own way. Why do these comrades not firmly carry out the party's line and general and specific policies? One very important reason is that they are obsessed with "fear" and worry that the policies will change. They are not assured, although the policies are clearly laid down in the documents of the party Central Committee. They still try to make "weather" observations and look out for the "trend." This can be regarded as a consequence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." What are these comrades afraid of? They are afraid of committing mistakes in the line again. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" confused the right and the wrong lines and pushed an ultraleftist line. Their ultraleftist line has been liquidated thanks to the efforts to eliminate chaos and restore order in the past 3 years. The line and the general and specific policies now laid down by the party Central Committee completely embody the wishes of the people of the whole country and represent their fundamental interests. What are they waiting for? They are afraid of one thing and another. Why are they not afraid of making a mistake of practicing liberalism in carrying out the correct line?

Party discipline is conscious discipline. That is to say, party members should consciously observe party discipline. It is necessary to teach the broad masses of cadres and party members to observe party discipline and to educate them in the importance of the principle that the whole party should obey its Central Committee, so that this principle will be upheld. All party members and cadres, especially cadres responsible for leadership work, should be asked to heighten their party spirit, increase their sense of organization and discipline, consciously put the party's interests above everything else and firmly

obey the unified leadership of the party Central Committee. The comrades who were poisoned and influenced by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," imbued with anarchical and liberal ideas and factionalism and who have not yet corrected their mistakes completely should be helped through study and education to heighten their ideological consciousness. Here a review of Lenin's teachings will benefit us. Lenin said: "Repudiation of party spirit and party discipline--such is the opposition's net result. This is tantamount to completely disarming the proletariat in the interest of the bourgeoisie. It is tantamount to that petty-bourgeois diffuseness, instability, incapacity for sustained effort, unity and organized action which, if indulged in, must inevitably destroy every proletarian revolutionary movement." ("Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 200) Are we not in a similar situation now? Repudiation of party spirit, of party discipline and of the important disciplinary principle that the whole party should obey its Central Committee--such is the "result" which the fierce enemies like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wanted to force upon us. Some of our comrades were influenced because they were obsessed by the petty-bourgeois diffuseness, instability and incapacity for sustained effort and organized action. This situation should not be tolerated; otherwise, the disciplinary principle that the whole party should obey its Central Committee will be destroyed, and our great cause of building a modern, powerful socialist country will be ruined. The reason is very simple. Only by strictly obeying its Central Committee will the party be able to lead its members and the people of the whole country to fight to realize its great cause. Only when the whole party obeys its Central Committee will it be possible to maintain and develop the political situation of stability and unity and guarantee the smooth progress of the four modernizations. Anyone violating this principle will be subject to strict disciplinary actions by party organizations and disciplinary inspection committees at all levels. This is where the maximum interests of the party and the people of the whole country lie.

"The sense of discipline is growing stronger, and the revolution will be ever victorious." This was what Comrade Mao Zedong taught the whole party on the eve of nationwide liberation. We are now shouldering the glorious task of winning a great victory in the four modernizations. Once it is united, has a greater sense of discipline, increases its fighting power and firmly obeys the leadership of its Central Committee, the whole party will definitely be worthy of its honorable title of the core leading the cause of socialism and will competently accomplish the enormous task assigned by history and the people.

CSO: 4004

TRAIN A GREAT CONTINGENT OF RED AND EXPERT CADRES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 80 pp 28-31

[Article by the organizational department of the Anhui Provincial CCP Committee]

[Text] Following the shift in the focus of the party's work, strengthening cadre education and training a great contingent of cadres who firmly follow the socialist road and have professional knowledge and ability are prerequisites for achieving the four modernizations. They are also significant strategic tasks for the whole situation.

Once the political line is determined, cadres are the deciding factor. When we say this we do not mean that cadres can decide everything because they have power. We mean that the training of a great contingent of Red and expert cadres will play a decisive role in leading the masses in their hundreds of millions to accomplish the great task of the four modernizations. Since we are trying to achieve socialist modernization, we naturally expect our cadres to follow the socialist road, uphold the basic viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism and observe party discipline and state law. Otherwise, they will go astray. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the theoretical basis of the party's line, principle and policies, as well as the guiding ideology of the four modernizations. Party members and cadres, particularly leading cadres, must conscientiously study it. At present we must earnestly organize cadres to study the series of important documents of the Central Committee and speeches of the leading comrades of the Central Committee since the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee. We must continue the study and discussions of the criterion of truth so that everyone will get a clear picture of the present excellent situation and have confidence in socialist modernization. That is to say, it is still of great importance to conduct ideological and political education of cadres and enhance their political and ideological level. However, to achieve the four modernizations our cadres must also be proficient in their work and equipped with professional knowledge. We have suffered enough by talking about Red without talking about expert as well. We must work hard toward the goal of both Red and expert in

all trades and professions, including industry, agriculture, commerce, education, health, science and technology. If we are not proficient, we will issue confused orders which will jeopardize the socialist cause. We have had many lessons like this. If our comrades, particularly those in leading positions, do not endeavor to gain proficiency and do not try to acquire modern scientific and technological knowledge, but always remain laymen, they will not be able to achieve the four modernizations. Of course, being expert does not equal being Red. But to be Red one must be an expert at the same time. Therefore, to advocate that cadres acquire professional knowledge and improve proficiency is an urgent step to achieve the four modernizations and an important task of cadre education in the new period.

To educate cadres to become both Red and expert to meet the needs of the four modernizations, party committees at all levels of our province have earnestly grasped discussions on practice being the sole criterion for testing truth and have seriously solved problems in the ideological and political line in the past 2 years, particularly since the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee. At the same time they have paid attention to organizing cadres to improve proficiency and to educating them with the knowledge of science, technology and economic management. The provincial party committee has taken a lead in holding more than 40 science and technology forums for cadres at and above bureau level of organs directly under the province. These forums guided the cadres to be concerned about and study science and technology. The provincial committee has spread the experiences gained in the industrial management classes run on a trial basis by provincial committee party schools. Economic management and scientific knowledge is taught in all cadre training classes run by the party schools at all levels. Professional training classes have been opened in both former and newly built cadre professional schools. In addition, short courses in different professions have also been run to suit the needs of the development of the situation. All these have yielded good results. However, this is just the beginning. People still do not fully understand, and even doubt, the significance of training a great contingent of Red and expert cadres. Therefore, we must do a thorough and good job of ideological work.

Why must we consider improving professional knowledge to be an important aspect of cadre education? Let us specifically analyze the actual conditions of our cadre contingent. The cadres of our province are generally of good political quality. Since the shift in the focus of our party's work, most comrades, particularly old cadres, support the party's political line and ideological line. The old cadres study hard, work enthusiastically and have proved to be good leaders of the four modernizations. However, to meet the demands of the four modernizations, few cadres are really proficient in professional work. Most of them are laymen. They cannot keep abreast of the four modernizations in their politics, ideology and work style, and particularly in their

economic management level, scientific and technological knowledge and professional ability. Generally speaking, they can be divided into three groups: 1) Leading cadres above the county level (including leading cadres of factories and mines who are at the same level as county cadres). Only a small number are really proficient in their work and are experts. A fairly large number have incomplete professional knowledge. Some are even laymen. These cadres only represent a small proportion of the provincial cadres. However, they are in leading positions and must make the final decisions. If they do not try hard to acquire more professional knowledge, they will severely jeopardize the four modernizations. 2) Ordinary administration and management cadres. Most of them are worker and peasant cadres promoted from posts on the production front. They make up the majority of the provincial cadres. They are an important force on the production front, since they are usually familiar with production. Some have studied arduously for several years and are equipped with some scientific and technological knowledge. However, many comrades have no basic knowledge of science and culture, and they will face greater difficulties as the four modernizations develop. Therefore, there is an urgent need to train and improve them. 3) Professional personnel. Although there has been some training in this area, the number of professional cadres in different trades, particularly those with advanced or intermediate levels of technique, is still too small. These professional cadres should continue to raise their level and further their studies. Generally speaking, many of our cadres lack professional knowledge, and few actually have it. Therefore, the masses criticize the fact that some of our cadres are "generals" and "jacks of all trades and masters of none" rather than "professionals." Due to the lack of professional personnel and professional leading cadres, our organization departments always have a headache when they assign cadres and leading groups. One unit wants professionals and technicians to be its mainstay; another wants experts to assume leadership. Where can we find them? Many cadres have made contributions to the party and people in the past, while others are still making efforts which are full of revolutionary vigor. However, their contributions only reflect what they have done in the past, and revolutionary vigor cannot replace scientific knowledge. Only when we have considered acquiring scientific and technological knowledge and improving professional proficiency as important tasks of cadre education, adopted practical and effective methods, conducted education seriously and arduously, trained a large number of professional personnel and genuinely formed a great contingent of professional cadres can we meet the needs of the four modernizations.

Some comrades worry that when the party committees pay close attention to improving the cadres' professional proficiency and when party schools run courses on professional management they will "do away with our traditions" and "ignore our proper occupations." Is this true? Let us recall the historical experiences we have gained in cadre training. In old China our science and culture were backward. Moreover,

most cadres came from worker and peasant families and had been engaged in the revolutionary wars for a long time. Therefore, it was natural that they lacked scientific, technological and cultural knowledge. To meet the needs of socialist construction and to respond to the calls of the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, the whole party vigorously strengthened cadre education after the founding of the PRC. Various types of cadre schools sprang up like mushrooms. The spare-time study of in-service cadres also flourished. Most cadres were earnest and down to earth and achieved remarkable results in their studies. Some comrades gradually become experts. Because many of them improved their professional proficiency and acquired a profound knowledge of economic work, the party could rely on them to improve leadership in economic work and to develop economic construction. However, due to the continuous political movements, and particularly due to the ultra-leftist line pursued by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who trumpeted that "politics can push aside everything" and willfully put the labels of "experts' line" and "White and experts' road" on everything, the cadres' enthusiasm to improve professional proficiency and to study science and technology was undermined, and cadre schools and cadre education organs were dissolved. Moreover, the development of scientific research was at a standstill, and in some cases it even declined. A large number of professional cadres were forced to change their trades, and many professional personnel were attacked and persecuted. People were afraid to study science and technology and could not learn it anywhere. As a result, there emerged a strange situation in which people preferred to remain "uneducated" and were "content to remain laymen." Consequently, the gap in science and technology between our country and the advanced countries widened, and we were put in a very difficult situation. Was this not a profound historical lesson? Should this situation continue? To learn from historical experiences and lessons and make cadres meet the needs of the four modernizations, party committees at all levels are presently promoting vocational studies for cadres, and party schools are running professional management classes. As early as the 1930's, Comrade Mao Zedong called on the whole party: "To build socialism the working class must have its own technical cadres--an army of professors, teachers, scientists, journalists, writers, artists and Marxist theorists. It must be a vast army; a small number of people will not suffice." ("Situation in the Summer of 1957") He also warned us: "The proletariat cannot build socialism without its own vast contingent of technicians and theoretical workers." ("Be Activists in Promoting the Revolution") It can be seen that we are carrying on with this historical task. We must work very hard to make up the lost time and accelerate the training of a contingent of Red and expert cadres. By doing so we are absolutely not "doing away with traditions" or "ignoring proper occupations." On the contrary, we are carrying forward the party's traditions and working in our proper occupations.

Some comrades say: "Since I am old I cannot learn any more, and it is too late for me to learn." "In my office I have a lot of work to do,

and at home I am busy with the household chores; there is no time for vocational study." "I fall short of the best but am better than the worst; with what I have learned I can still do my job well for some time." "I am responsible for political work, so it does not matter if I do not acquire professional knowledge," and so on. This shows that they do not fully understand the importance of professional knowledge but fear the difficulty of acquiring scientific and technological knowledge. Science and technology are production forces which push history forward. They are also the key to the success of the four modernizations. However, technology will be a dead thing if we do not have a vast number of competent technological personnel. Technology can create miracles only when it is applied by those who have a good command of it. Everyone must try to master it no matter how old he is. The middle-aged and young cadres must try even harder. Those who are completely ignorant of technology must try to learn it, while those who have some knowledge must further their studies. In short, it is the task of every cadre to become a genuine expert. Those who cite various excuses for their unwillingness to gain professional proficiency cannot be considered good revolutionaries. A contingent which neither studies nor masters science and technology will be ignorant and is bound to fail in the four modernizations. Undeniably, it is quite difficult for some comrades to acquire professional knowledge. However, what must we do in difficult times? We must move ahead! All party members and cadres have lofty ideals and high goals of building our country into a modern socialist power. To assume this glorious task we must overcome difficulties in learning and studying. Can we go on being illiterate and ignorant of science and technology? Can we go on issuing confused orders in the four modernizations?

At present our province is organizing cadres to acquire professional knowledge. However, this is only the beginning, and we are still exploring. Generally speaking, we think it is better for cadres to acquire knowledge in their own professions and to fill the gap in their knowledge. Apart from studying economic management, science and technology and acquiring basic knowledge of their own professions, cadres must also be familiar with actual conditions related to their own fields. Cadres in different fields must emphasize different areas of study. We must make a distinction between leading cadres and ordinary cadres, administrative cadres and professional cadres, and management cadres and technical ones. We must also set different demands on different cadres rather than treat them in a stereotyped way. In addition to studying the basic principles of Marxism, leading cadres must primarily study management science, natural science and technological science. While studying revolutionary theories, cadres of all trades must study professional and scientific knowledge and skill in line with their own trades. Cadres with a low educational level must primarily study culture, including language, mathematics, history, geography and natural science.

Due to the protracted sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," there are many problems in cadre education which need to be solved. To solve these problems with specific measures we must have long-term planning to establish a network for cadre education, so that we can carry out more formal cadre training. We must also adopt some emergency measures which suit the conditions and possibilities. For example, we must be enthusiastic in doing a good job of running television universities, spare-time universities and correspondence universities. We must make short-term training a success and energetically advocate and encourage studying on one's own. We must select some important members as targets of training and take care of the others. There must be overall plans and graded training. To train cadres in succession as soon as possible we must first of all train leading cadres at all levels, particularly the No 1 and No 2 leaders. In our province, one-third of the cadres at and above the level of deputy secretaries of county committees received the first round of their training by the end of 1979. The training of leading cadres at and above the county level has not only pushed the work forward but also helped cadres gain benefits from studying. These cadres will then help other cadres in their studies.

To promote the proficiency of the cadre contingent we must also integrate the training of cadres with assessing, promoting and making proper use of them. To promote and use them we must persist in the principle of selecting capable people. We must organize the leading groups in line with the professional requirements and give full play to the initiative of professional personnel. We must be bold in promoting and putting in important positions those who study well and have special skills. There are some who do not study seriously, fail in assessments and lack special skills. These people must not be promoted. Some of them should even be transferred if necessary. Integrating study with assessment, promotion and proper use will not only mobilize the cadres' enthusiasm for study but will also be beneficial to the cadres' progress. It is also an important aspect of reforming the cadre system.

Whether we can smoothly conduct cadre education and train a great contingent of Red and expert cadres depends on the strengthening of leadership of party committees at all levels. The present situation is excellent. The party Central Committee calls on us to study, and the four modernizations demand that we study. Only if party committees at all levels attach great importance to cadre training and place it on the important daily agenda, adopt the necessary measures, establish and strengthen the necessary organs, equip them with the necessary force, and earnestly solve the practical problems of getting teachers, teaching materials and school buildings will we be able to make a success of cadre education.

A DISCUSSION ON SEVERAL PROBLEMS OF METHODOLOGY IN QUANTUM CHEMISTRY

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[Article by Tang Aoqing [0781 2407 1987]]

[Text] Since quantum chemistry was founded 50 years ago, the method of studying it has gradually improved and deepened, along with a constant intensification and development of its content. By now a fairly systematic and effective method of study has emerged. This article attempts to discuss several problems of methodology in this subject from the standpoint of the Marxist theory of knowledge and dialectics.

1. Correctly Handle the Relationship Between Theory and Experiment

As everyone knows, quantum chemistry is in relation to a theoretical study of the relationships between the microstructures of atoms, molecules and crystals and their macrofunctions, and it also reveals the laws of chemical reaction and the essence of catalytic effects. However, the essential laws governing these microstructures and chemical reactions are generally very abstract, and instead of being directly perceptible they have to be explored by abstract theoretical imagination and strict mathematical calculations. Therefore, the question of methodology arises, namely, how to correctly handle the relationship between theory and experiment in the study of quantum chemistry. Is chemical experiment the direct source and the motive force in the development of quantum chemistry? The answer is naturally affirmative.

The history of the development of quantum mechanics shows that through explorations over a quarter of a century mankind has gained basic theoretical knowledge in the realm of atoms and molecules after repeated processes of practice, knowledge, practice again and knowledge again. From 1924 to 1926, when quantum mechanics had already appeared, physicists and chemists used its theory and method to study chemical problems. Thus quantum chemistry, a brandnew frontier science, was born. In the past 50 years quantum chemistry has developed rapidly on the basis of and along with chemical experimentation, to the mutual benefit of each. The development is manifested vividly in the relationship between quantum chemistry and structural and synthetic chemistry.

As everyone knows, structural chemistry and synthetic chemistry are related mainly to experimentation. Structural chemistry uses various types of experimental instruments and methods to determine molecular and crystal structures, while synthetic chemistry, through various methods and channels, synthesizes new materials and new substances having specific functions. They have provided quantum chemistry with new tasks and new clues and have accumulated large quantities of experimental data and materials. Quantum chemistry took advantage of these new clues. It studied the new tasks, analyzed and synthesized these data and materials, developed them and thus continued to enrich its own theory and to expand its own scope. Then in return, after enriching and developing its own theory, quantum chemistry helped spur the minds of the structural and synthetic chemists by providing them with a theoretical basis and guiding them in new experiments. This was how quantum chemistry rose in a series of spirals of experimentation-theory-new experimentation-new theory. This is fully illustrated by the development of the theory on the three chemical bondings.¹

Shortly before and after the 1930's, based on experimental data and its theoretical level at that time, quantum chemistry advanced three different theories of chemical bonding in succession. The first was the valence-bond theory, which was developed from the classical chemical bonding theory and held that the electrons forming the chemical bonding must confine their motion within the very small field between two adjacent atoms. For every single bond there are two electrons in motion; for a double bond there are four electrons in motion; and for a triple bond there are six electrons in motion, and the forms of motion can be worked out with the method of quantum chemistry. The result quite accurately corresponded with that of experiments. This chemical bonding theory was simple and straightforward, and people easily accepted it. From the 1930's to the 1950's, thanks to the impetus given by large numbers of experiments in structural and synthetic chemistry, the chemical bonding theory flourished. After the 1950's, however, the molecular-orbital theory² gradually gained ascendancy. The reason was that, although the chemical bonding theory was successful in explaining the phenomena in experimentation with nonconjugate molecules, such as those of methane and ammonia, it had problems in explaining the experimental data for conjugate molecules, such as the structure of benzene molecules. The results of experiments in structural chemistry showed that the six carbon and six hydrogen atoms are bonded into a ring-shaped skeleton like a tortoise shell, with another six electrons moving up and down the skeleton plane. These electrons do not form a single, double or triple bond, but a large pi bond.³ This could not be explained according to the valence-bond theory. Furthermore, this theory failed to explain the magnetic and highly active characteristics of oxygen molecules. Thus, the results of new experiments and new problems prompted people to accept and develop the molecular-orbital theory. The molecular-orbital theory, which considered the problem in terms of complete wholes, held that the motion of electrons belonged to the

molecules as complete wholes instead of to the atoms in them. It thus explained the above phenomenon, resolved the contradiction between the valence-bond theory and the new data, and helped the chemical bonding theory to take a gigantic forward step. However, scientific experimentation and knowledge cannot remain at a standstill, and further experiments in synthetic and structural chemistry again discovered many new forms of bonding, such as the forms of cubes, flowerbaskets and sandwiches for molecules. All these discoveries helped the further development of the chemical bonding theory. Particularly in the 1950's, the chemists synthesized the bis (cyclopentadienyl) iron sandwich, which is like a metallic atom sandwiched between layers of organic molecules. Thus a new question was raised: How can a metal substance become a sandwiched compound and yet remain stable? Neither the chemical bonding theory nor the molecular-orbital theory could provide the answer. It was in such a circumstance that the ligand field theory⁴ came into being. This theory studied the central atoms and ions and the mutual effects between them and the ligands of atoms and molecules around them, and it provided an explanation of the sandwiched compound. This explanation closely agreed with the results of experiments and thus enabled the chemical bonding theory to take another forward step. From this it can be clearly seen that all these three chemical bonding theories were enriched and developed through the help of the many experimental data in structural and synthetic chemistry, and that the ever-deepening process of experimentation was the real source and motive force of the three different chemical bonding theories.

However, the development of the chemical bonding theory has also produced a strong reaction on experimentation and become the important theoretical basis and guiding thought of synthetic and structural chemistry. First, it predicted the existence of many compounds. For example, on the basis of the chemical bonding theory many years ago it was determined that there should be some form of compound like the complex of nitrogen molecules (in the complexes there are one or two nitrogen molecules serving as ligands). Yet for a long time it did not appear. It was not until 1965 that, after repeated experiments, it was finally synthesized. The brilliant prediction of the chemical bonding theory thus came true and pointed to the direction for the experimenters to consciously look for new compounds through the application of the chemical bonding theory. Moreover, it guided people to synthesize new substances of complex structures and specific functions. For instance, when the theory of conservation of orbital symmetry was established in 1965, it was applied in an outstanding performance of synthesizing vitamin B₁₂ which was an epoch-making achievement in modern chemical experimentation.

The above analysis clearly shows that theory depends on experimentation for its own enrichment and development, while experimentation needs the guidance of theory. Theory and experimentation are mutually complementary and are so closely related that they cannot be separated. This

was how the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge found concrete expression in the science of quantum chemistry. Therefore, the comrades engaged in theoretical work should fully appreciate and take great interest in experimental work, because without experimentation theory will lose its vitality. Comrades engaged in experimental work should likewise appreciate and take great interest in theoretical research, because without theoretical guidance experimentation will blindly land itself in a passive position. Both theoretical and experimental workers should cooperate closely. The closer their cooperation, the faster will science develop and the greater will be the achievements. This is clearly shown by the discovery of the theory of conservation of orbital symmetry as a result of the cooperation between Woodward and Hoffmann. As we all know, Woodward was a very famous organic chemist with great skill in experimentation and had accumulated a large collection of experimental data and experience in synthetic chemistry. Hoffmann was a quantum chemist and skillful in theoretic work. Their cooperation soon led to the discovery of the theory of conservation of orbital symmetry, which brought quantum chemistry into a new phase.

2. Handle the Relationship Between the Part and the Whole in a Dialectical Way

The subject of study for quantum chemistry is the molecule, and a molecule is formed of a system of atoms, ions, nuclei, electrons and many other components. There are very complicated structures among them, with many different functions. This determines the rich and varied functions of material molecules. Therefore, in studying the relationship between the structures and functions of molecules and in showing the laws of chemical reactions, we are bound to encounter the problem of the relationship between the part and the whole. This is a question of methodology which must be correctly faced and handled.

Many experiments have shown that material molecules have two different properties. The first type can be considered the sum total of different parts, while the other must be considered complete wholes. For example, binding energy belongs to the former type which can be considered the sum total of different parts. The partial energy of molecules here refers to the chemical bonds. For example, methane consists of four carbon-hydrogen bonds. Many properties of organic molecules can be regarded as the sum total of the properties of these bonds, which do not change much in the molecules. Therefore, by studying the carbon-hydrogen, carbon-oxygen, carbon-carbon and other bonds in organic chemistry, and thus gaining a clear idea of the characteristics of these bonds, we will be able to synthesize them and to understand and master the properties of organic chemistry as complete wholes. This shows that different parts can combine to form complete wholes according to a certain form and that complete wholes are the sum totals of different parts. This is a manifestation of unity of the part and the

whole. The nature of organic molecules is very complex; however, if the properties of complete wholes are regarded as the syntheses of the bonding characteristics, it can be very much simplified. Then if the parts can be further clarified through the methods of analysis and synthesis, we can thoroughly understand the complete wholes.

However, the other type of molecular properties cannot be regarded as the sum totals of different parts, but rather as complete wholes. For example, some properties of the spectrum, particularly in an electronic transition when the electrons of a molecule leap from one energy level to another, the result of experiments can be explained only by regarding that electron as one of the whole molecule. Again, a benzene molecule has six π electrons. These six electrons cannot be regarded as belonging to any parts of the benzene molecule but rather to the benzene molecule itself. Only thus can the properties of these six π electrons be explained. This shows that the relationship between the part and the whole is by no means one of simple addition but one that gives rise to qualitative changes. The complete wholes formed by the synthesis of different parts are not the same as the sum totals of the different parts, because they can produce new properties and have new features. This is another aspect of the relationship between the part and the whole.

The above facts about quantum chemistry have vividly illustrated the unity of opposites regarding whole molecules and their component parts. On the one hand, a complete whole is formed of different parts, and its properties comprehensively reflect the properties of parts. This is the unity of the part and the whole. On the other hand, although complete wholes are formed of different parts, they are not the aggregate of the different parts; this is the difference and contradiction between the two. Therefore, with quantum chemistry at the present stage of development, we should very carefully sum up and study these experiences and correctly understand and handle the dialectical relationship between the part and the whole molecules. We should also clarify which properties can be regarded as the aggregate of partial properties and which properties cannot be regarded as such, and then provide scientific methods for observing and studying problems in the future. In the 1940's, Bao Lin [7637 2651], a noted chemist, made fairly good progress in summing up these experiences. Many new facts are now confronting quantum chemistry, and it is necessary that there be a new leap forward in this science. This makes the problem even more important and urgent.

Then how should we correctly handle the dialectical relationship between the whole and the part? The history of scientific research tells us that we must first concentrate our attention on the question of complete wholes. Should there be any contradiction between the whole and the part, it is permissible to temporarily discard the sum totals of parts in order to study the complete wholes. This was the principle on which the method of approximation was formed. Secondly, while stressing the

study of complete wholes which play the main role, we must at the same time not overlook the parts which play a secondary role. For example, among the many atoms which have mutual effects in the molecules, those in ortho-positions play the main role and are the basic components in the formation of chemical bonding, while the others which are in nonortho-positions have secondary mutual effects and can to a certain extent affect the chemical properties of molecules. Therefore, in studying the properties of molecules we must study all the effects produced in order to avoid being one-sided and to be able to reflect the real features of molecules comprehensively and objectively.

Thirdly, we must pay main attention to the key points and correctly handle the relationship between different parts. The different parts forming the whole are not related to one another in a uniform way, because their positions and functions can be primary or secondary, light or heavy; and they may be of higher or lower priority and of greater or less urgency. The key points have a decisive effect on the whole. Therefore, in observing and studying any chemical phenomenon or process we must focus our attention on the most important problems or links which are of decisive significance for the complete wholes.

Here it must be pointed out that both the valence-bond theory and the molecular orbital theory are somewhat one-sided in dealing with the relationship between the part and the whole. The valence-bond theory is more concerned with the pairing of valence electrons and is rather biased toward the parts by neglecting the whole. The molecular orbital theory stresses the electrons as complete wholes in molecules while neglecting the parts. Each has its own merits as well as shortcomings. Therefore, we should be guided by the dialectical relationship between the part and the whole in synthesizing the valence-bond theory, the molecular orbital theory and the ligand field theory, overcome their shortcomings, adopt advanced methods of calculation, and gradually form a new chemical bonding theory to be used in reflecting the molecules as complete wholes from a higher angle and a longer range (as the molecular orbital theory does) and yet illustrate the conditions of bonding from a closer range (as the valence-bond theory does) in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding.

3. Further Study the Relationship Between Static and Dynamic States

The so-called "static state" refers to the stability and relatively static state of properties before or after chemical reactions; the so-called "dynamic state" refers to the character and state of properties undergoing chemical reactions. This is obviously a very complicated process of change. To study the laws of chemical reaction, people must understand and master the character and state of properties before the reaction, the direction, channels and characters of changes from the reaction, and the resultant character and state after the reaction. This static-dynamic-static cycle is in fact a question of the relationship between the static and the dynamic states. How to handle this

relationship and to further reveal the nature and laws of the dynamic process is also a question of methodology which deserves attention.

Facts have told us that the dynamic nature of many chemical reactions can come from a static nature. This is a concrete manifestation of the unity of the static and the dynamic states. We already know that in thermodynamics, if there are two equilibriums in the process of change, we can then determine the direction of change according to the second law of thermodynamics. For example, if we put a block of ice at zero degree temperature beside a bucket of hot water of 100 degrees temperature, we can immediately determine that the heat must be transmitted from the hot water to the cold ice and that this transmission will continue until the temperature of the ice is equal to that of the water. This is a process of heat transmission. The nature and direction of change in this heat transmission is determined by the static nature of ice and hot water (zero degree and 100 degree respectively). Similarly, in some chemical reactions the static nature can also determine the dynamic nature and show the direction of reaction. In studies of the law of kinetics of chemical reaction in quantum chemistry the static state was invariably used in the past to determine the dynamic nature. For example, a naphthalene molecule has alpha and beta positions. Which of these two can more easily react? When the hexagonal molecule of benzene and its basic group (atomic group) begin their reaction, and when the first basic group is replaced by the second one, which position in the hexagon will the second group take? Here are three different positions, namely, the ortho-position, the meta-position and the para-position.⁵ Which of these positions will it take? These questions call for theoretical answers. A lot of work was done in the 1940's and 1950's, and through the calculation of electronic density with quantum chemistry it was learned that density is higher in the alpha position, which carries a negative charge. Therefore, anything carrying a positive charge will easily find its way to the alpha position and quickly produce a reaction. This is the way of determining the chemical activity of dynamic reaction through the density of electric charges and the static nature of positive and negative electric charges. Besides, the theory of conservation of orbital symmetry shows that in some forms of chemical reaction the symmetry of the molecular orbit does not change. Thus, in chemical industrial production and scientific experiments, as long as we know the initial and the ultimate states of chemical reaction, we can determine how the changes have taken place. Supposing there are two different channels, we can determine the choice of the correct one. This is also a great achievement in determining the dynamic nature (the forms and channels of changes) from the static nature (the symmetry of molecular orbit). A lot of work has been done in quantum chemistry in the past, with many significant achievements, and this shows that the dynamic and the static states are not entirely cut off from each other, nor do they exist in absolute isolation. On the contrary, there is an innate unity between them.

However, many experiments have proved that the dynamic nature of chemical reactions cannot be determined by relying on the static nature alone. In reactions other than the concerted reaction (the reaction from the simultaneous breaking of the old and the forming of the new bonds), for instance, you cannot figure out the nature of the chemical reaction from the initial and the ultimate static nature. You may even uncover some new characteristics and new features in the process. This shows the difference and contradiction between the dynamic and the static natures of chemical properties and the impossibility of describing their unity in absolute terms. In fact, the process of chemical reactions, the forms of some material structures, their energy transformations, their information transmission and so forth are extremely complex and subject to many different changes according to certain special laws. This phenomenon is by no means strange. It should be pointed out that throughout the 50 years of development of quantum chemistry more attention has been paid to the static state than to the dynamic state. In the course of future development, further efforts should be made to study the dialectical relationship between dynamic and static characteristics and to analyze which types of dynamic state can be and which types cannot be determined from the static characteristics.

4. Grasp the Principal Contradiction in Applying the Method of Approximation

The subject of study in quantum chemistry is the system of many micro-particles, and chiefly the problem of multibodies.⁶ Therefore, in studying their structures, functions and laws of reaction it would be very difficult to carry out fixed quantity calculations. For example, in calculating the structure of a molecule, if there are 100 electrons, it will be necessary to calculate 100 million integrals, and this calculation is quite troublesome. Some problems cannot even be solved by high-speed electronic computers. Therefore, as far as quantum chemistry is concerned, the method of approximation is most commonly used. Since we have to deal with problems approximately, we will have to discard some factors of secondary importance and grasp the principal one. Therefore, an important aspect in the methodology of quantum chemistry is to be good at distinguishing between the principal and the non-principal contradictions.

How can we distinguish between the principal and the nonprincipal contradictions? Have we grasped the principal contradiction? Here it is necessary to conduct a scientific analysis through the application of dialectical thinking. Generally, in order to grasp the principal we must conduct a concrete analysis of all contradictions, their features, and their interrelations and ascertain the different positions they occupy and the roles they play in the course of development of things. Then we can determine which one plays the guiding and decisive role, and this is the principal contradiction. At the same time we must

always carefully watch out for the interchanges of the principal and the nonprincipal contradictions which may take place under different conditions and in different stages. We have had many such experiences and lessons in the history of the development of quantum chemistry.

As we all know, there are many atomic nuclei and electrons constantly moving about in molecules, and the situation is very complex. But nuclei and electrons are very different, because the masses of nuclei are many times those of electrons. For instance, the weight of a hydrogen atom is 1,840 times that of an electron. The other atomic nuclei are even heavier, and the weight of some of them is tens of thousands or even hundreds of thousands of times heavier. This difference accounts for their many different ways of motion: electrons move very rapidly, nuclei move very slowly, and there is an interaction between these two motions. Under such conditions, the motions of electrons and nuclei obviously have their primary effect on the properties of molecules, while the interaction of their motions produce secondary effects. Therefore, we can separate atomic motions from electronic motions and deal with them separately. This is the Born-Oppenheimer approximation advanced in an early stage of quantum chemistry. Both Born and Oppenheimer analyzed the difference between atomic nuclei and electrons, treated atomic and electronic motions separately, grasped the principal contradiction, discarded the nonprincipal contradictions produced by the interaction of the atomic and electronic motions, and introduced the method of approximation. Then they developed molecular spectroscopy. According to the theory of approximation, the electronic motion part is the electronic spectrum, and the atomic motion part is the molecular vibration spectrum and the molecular revolution spectrum, and the results of the calculations were quite close to the results of experiments, with a less than one-hundred-thousandth margin of error. This fully illustrates that practice is the criterion for testing truth and that Born and Oppenheimer had grasped the principal contradiction and discarded the nonprincipal ones.

Of course, where there is successful experience there are also lessons from failures. In dealing with molecular structures, Thomas and Fermi disregarded the difference between the principal and the nonprincipal contradictions and indiscriminately applied the statistical average method to solve the multibody problem. The result was failure. As we know, the results of statistical average can be used in dealing with multibody matters. On this question, however, the famous scientist Thomas did not grasp the principal contradiction, and the kinetic energy of electronic motion, the Coulomb energy and the exchange energy were all calculated with the statistical average method. The final result did not turn out to be right for the molecule. The atoms could only remain isolated atoms but could not combine to form stable molecules. But this was entirely different from the actual situation. This shows that the method of Thomas and Fermi was to abandon the principal contradiction and to grasp only the nonprincipal contradictions, and the

result turned out to be entirely wrong for the molecules. In 1951 another chemist, Slater, treated the kinetic energy portion and the Coulomb energy portion as the principal contradiction according to quantum mechanics, while the exchange energy portion was treated as a nonprincipal contradiction to be handled with the statistical average method. The result was quite a success and later developed into an effective method.

The above experiences and lessons show that in undertaking scientific research and in dealing with nature we must grasp the principal contradiction and discard, or suitably deal with, the nonprincipal contradictions. Scientific research will then be a success and will give an impetus to the advancement of science. If we fail to grasp the principal contradiction or make no difference between the principal and the nonprincipal, or, as the saying goes, "treat eyebrows and whiskers in the same way," scientific research will be led astray and result in failure.

5. Correctly Handle the Relationship Between Different Forms of Motion

Quantum chemistry is a science which studies the forms of motion in chemistry and classifies them according to these forms, but the theory and method adopted are supplied by quantum mechanics, or the theory and method of studying the forms of motion in physics. This particularly emphasizes the relationship between the higher and the lower forms of motion. Therefore, a correct understanding and handling of this relationship is also an important question of methodology in quantum chemistry.

The dialectical materialist concept of motion tells us that the forms of motion in nature are many and varied, such as mechanical, physical, chemical, biological and so forth. These different forms of motion are classified as the higher and the lower and are interchangeable. The higher form includes certain elements of the lower form but still cannot be classified as the lower form because, despite their unity, they have different essential characteristics. Therefore, while observing and handling the relationship between different forms of movement in different branches of research we must note this close relationship as well as the essential differences. On this question we should oppose two different tendencies. One of them is reflected in the idea that in studying the higher form of motion only a study of the lower form will suffice. For example, the use of physical research methods for chemical research is mistaken for the classification of chemical motion as physical motion, thus obliterating the essential difference between the higher and the lower forms. This is called the "theory of reduction." In fact, it cannot be reduced. The other tendency is shown in the rejection of the dialectical relationship between the higher and the lower forms and in the treatment of the higher form as something unique and mysterious. This is called the

"theory of uniqueness." Advocates of this theory object to the use of the methods of physics and chemistry in studying biology and are fond of accusing others of applying the "theory of reduction." This is very harmful to scientific development. Both of these tendencies have appeared in the course of the development of quantum chemistry, and the evil practice of the "gang of four" in indiscriminately accusing people of applying the "theory of reduction" was particularly harmful to scientific development. This must be opposed.

Summing up the above, we can see that the relationships between theory and experiment, the part and the whole, the dynamic and the static states, the principal and the nonprincipal contradictions, and the higher and the lower forms of motion are the five important relationships in the study of quantum chemistry. Therefore, a careful handling of these five relationships is of universal significance in methodology. Our workers in quantum chemistry should diligently study and consciously apply Marxist dialectics in nature, deepen their scientific research according to the laws governing the dialectical nature of objective things and people's knowledge, correctly understand and rationally handle the above five relationships and accelerate the development of quantum chemistry in order to win new and even greater achievements.

FOOTNOTES

1. Chemical bonding: This comes from the valence-bond theory. It maintains that the interaction of atoms in a molecule holds the adjacent atoms together like a chain and keeps them in a certain state of equilibrium. Therefore, the main interaction between adjacent atoms is called chemical bonding. The theory for the study of this interaction is called the theory of chemical bonding.
2. Molecular orbital: In a molecule, each electron moves in a potential field formed of the various atomic nuclei and other electrons. Its motion can be expressed in wave functions, and these functions for individual electrons in a molecule are commonly called a molecular orbital.
3. Large pi bond, conjugate molecule and nonconjugate molecule: A large pi bond is formed of the orbitals of the azimuthal quantum numbers of three or more atoms on the same plane with the electrons in a symmetrical order. Also said to be formed of a certain number of electrons of several atoms. Molecules containing large pi bonds are called conjugate molecules, such as carbon dioxide and butadiene; those not containing large pi bonds are called nonconjugate molecules, such as butene and ethylene.
4. Ligand field: In the center of a complex are positively charged metal ions, and around them are negatively charged ions and

molecules. A potential field is created by the ligands called the ligand field. The theory for studying the change of energy levels of the central ions in the ligand field is called the theory of the ligand field.

5. Ortho-position, meta-position and para-position: A benzene ring has six carbon atoms. If a basic group is combined with one of these carbons, then the two atoms adjacent to the combination are said to be in ortho-positions, and the two next to them are said to be in meta-positions. The one opposite to the combination is said to be in a para-position.
6. Multibodies: A single body stands for one; two-bodies stands for two; and multibodies stands for three or more. A multibodies problem refers to the study of the law of multibody motions.

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SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING 'WRITING ABOUT FACTS'

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[Article by Li Yuming [2621 3768 6900] and Han Zhijun [7281 1807 0689]]

[Text] The realistic form of literature is a style of writing that demands a minute analysis of life and an accurate and honest reconstruction of typical characters in typical settings. But when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power, trying to replace science with illiteracy and truth with deception, the Marxist theory of realistic writing gave way to idealism and metaphysics, and literature and art emphasizing "cheating" and "concealing the truth from the public" swept the country. Shortly after the downfall of the "gang of four," the vast numbers of writers and artists who were aware of this serious situation issued clarion calls for promoting the realistic form of writing and spared no effort to achieve this goal through creative writing. In this way they played a very significant role in repudiating the ultraleft trend of thought and in eliminating chaos from and restoring order to the cultural front. An assessment of the current situation on the cultural front shows that the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," which emphasizes "cheating" and "concealing the truth from the public" in literature and art, has yet to be eliminated; further efforts must still be made to emphasize the realistic form of writing.

Literature must contain facts. But facts are not necessarily a form of literature. Bearing this point in mind, we agree that the realistic form of literature should be further emphasized but object to the slogan "writing about facts." Nor do we agree with some incorrect advocations of literature under this slogan. During the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," the slogan "writing about facts" played a significant and revolutionary role in criticizing their hypocritical literature and art. It was also instrumental in returning literature to its proper role of writing, not about deceptive fairy tales, but about reality, where it can take root in the fertile soil of the people's consciousness. But a slogan is a declaration of a certain principle of literature and an open banner which is bound to have great impact on writing. For this reason it should be treated with great care.

Realistic Attitude Toward Art and Life

Some comrades, regarding the realistic form of writing as the greatest demand on literature, have stated: "The realistic form of literature and art refers to those literary and art works which accurately reflect objective reality; accuracy is not only vital to literature and art but also a yardstick for determining whether a work has artistic value and a reason for existence." In this way they have mechanically equated the realistic form of literature and art with characters in real life while overemphasizing the role and function of real characters in literature and art. Other comrades have set the realistic form of writing against works which reflect the essence of social life, warning that promotion of the latter might lead to a situation in which the people would be lulled to sleep and contradictions would be covered up. For this reason, some comrades have asserted that "what we need is truth, truth and more truth"; "we must devote our time to the realistic form of writing, base our works on real life and reflect it in concrete detail." By adhering to this point of view, some writers have depicted life in concrete detail without discrimination, written stories in a picaresque style and filled their works with excitement, mystery and suspense. They have even emphasized romance between a young man and a young woman and their sexual encounter near a small river on a stormy night, as well as theft, violence, obscenity, rape and other criminal and indecent acts. We feel that the aforementioned theory and practice in writing represent a departure from the Marxist esthetic principle of realistic writing, an incorrect form of writing about social life and a movement away from the goal of realistic literature.

Then what attitude should we take toward the realistic form of literature? On the basis of the theory of realistic literature advanced by Marx and Engels, we must evaluate it in the following four ways:

1. In the 1850's, in a book review, Marx and Engels pointed out that there were two trends among literature and art circles in depicting persons and events: overstatement of facts in the La Fayette style and writing novels in a documentary style, such as "Conspirators" and "The Birth of a Republic in February 1848." Both Marx and Engels considered neither of these two forms of writing acceptable, because the former contained "no truth at all" while the latter failed to "dramatize characters and events in a true sense." But they endorsed the "vivid depiction of characters" in Brockden Brown's powerful style. ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 7, p 313) In other words, they wanted writers and artists to reflect life and develop typical characters with imagination. In this way they drew a clear distinction between the realistic form of writing and the hypocritical style of writing and naturalism.

2. The object to be reflected in literature and art is social life as a whole. Life is boundlessly rich in content and a spectrum of

diversity. Life as reflected in literature and art should be as colorful and as diverse as life itself. We must warmly extol the bright side and mercilessly expose the dark side of life. But whatever we do, we are not allowed to write without a point of focus and without discrimination. We are permitted neither to record all events in all their detail nor to depict those constantly changing and fleeting social phenomena. The truth is that not every phenomenon can represent the essence of social life; some phenomena contain false and distorted pictures of society, and there are many accidental and unrelated events that cannot be reflected in literature and art. In creative writing we are required to conscientiously observe, experience, analyze and scrutinize all aspects of life, or in Lu Xun's language, to "strictly select raw materials for literature and art and to delve deeply into life." Literature must emphasize both the phenomenon and essence of social life and accidental events and indispensable characters. If it ignores the depiction of phenomenon and accidental events and emphasizes the essence and indispensable characters alone, a work is bound to become nothing more than a collection of formulas, ideas and logical instructions and thus a form of education. But ignoring the essence and indispensable characters and lopsidedly emphasizing phenomenon and accidental characters and other unrelated events may lead to the naturalist style of writing about "individual characters." These two tendencies do not conform to the requirements for accuracy in writing.

3. In real life a writer may face a colorful picture filled with incidents, each of which is connected tightly in a perfect chain of action and reaction. Under this condition, nothing can remain unchanged, and everything is on the move and undergoes changes from time to time; things will appear and disappear. We feel that the requirements for accuracy in literature and art conform to the inevitable development of history. The pursuit of truth is a process of development, a dialectical movement in the struggle between opposites. Everything reasonable or unreasonable that exists in real life can be reflected in literature and art. But realism demands that all reasonable things be fostered and unreasonable ones be denied. Historically, a different world outlook and class stand forced some writers to cherish the moribund systems, to sing songs in memory of their death and to hate and curse the newly rising force. Although they adhered to the slogan calling for the realistic form of writing, these writers failed to meet the requirements for accuracy and honesty in literature. Cyrus the Great once said: "Things of true beauty are in harmony with nature as well as with ideals." (Quotation from "Translation and Compilation of the Classical Theory of Literature and Art," Vol 2, p 23) Magdeleine de Scudery also stated: "Just a stirring to life is not enough. It is necessary to light up the dark side of its heart. Things of sensibility such as graves, torture, dark shadow, struggles should not be allowed to appear in any play unless they are indispensable to shaping a great character and fostering a virtue of great value from the philosophical point of view." (Quotation from "Translation and Compilation of the Classical Theory of

Literature and Art," Vol 2, p 84) All these are lessons drawn from experience. Although they voiced their views on writing from their own class stand and in a different period of history, their opinions sound reasonable. The realistic form of literature should embody ideals and reality.

4. In discussing the subject of the realistic form of literature, we should remember the principle of grasping typical characters, a basic law of creative writing which distinguishes realism from naturalism. In the 1880's, after watching the development of the inseparable relationship between realism and naturalism in literature and art circles in a number of European countries, Engels wrote a letter to England's female writer Harkness highly praising Balzac as a realist writer who was greater than Emile Zola and all other naturalist writers in Europe. In the letter he explicitly pointed out: "As far as I know, realism means accurately reconstructing typical characters in typical settings in addition to conveying a sense of reality in all its detail."

("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 462) In this letter Engels drew a clear line between realism and naturalism. Essentially, naturalism differs from realism in that the former emphasizes the depiction of all events in minute detail while the latter stresses an accurate reconstruction of typical characters in typical settings, as well as the need for achieving harmony between real and typical characters. "Literature derives its quintessence and truth from a great deal of typical facts. A true masterpiece of literature and art evolves from the process of condensing phenomena that repeatedly appear in real life into a single typical one." (Maksim Gorkiy's "Letter to Young Writers," 1955 Edition, China Youth Publishing House, p 10) Without characterization, the realistic form of writing is unlikely to develop.

The aforementioned points express our views on the realistic form of literature. They are broader in scope than the slogan "writing about facts." The slogan "writing about facts" can in no way express the special meaning of realism and romanticism. If writers of all persuasions were asked to follow the slogan, they would be unable to develop new styles, new methods and new ways of expression and would consciously or unconsciously have to discard many forms of writing that have delighted the people.

Revolutionary Realism and Naturalism

"Writing about facts" is a slogan that is so ambivalent and misleading that we really don't know what it stands for--naturalism or realism. Although there is some similarity between the two, they differ in essence. The naturalist philosophy is based on mechanical materialism, while the realist philosophy--here we refer to the revolutionary realist philosophy--is based on the dialectical materialist theory of reflection. This theory of reflection holds that concepts are a reflection of the

material world in human minds which are capable of remolding the material world; human minds are capable of reflecting not only phenomena in the external world but also its fundamental laws as well; man should develop a correct way of knowing the world but also should play an active role in changing it. In creative writing we must persist in this materialist epistemological line and reject ivory towers or hypocritical forms of literature and art, naturalism and any mechanical, stereotyped and superficial forms of literature. Any lopsided emphasis on writing about facts will lead to naturalism. Gorkiy once said: "Although I cannot call naturalism, a method of depicting real life, a counterrevolutionary method, I can self-confidently point to this method as being unfaithful to and inconsistent with fact and a way of distorting it. A writer said: 'What I wrote is truth.' After saying this he should ask himself the following two questions: What kind of truth did he write about? Why did he do it?" (Gorkiy's "Letter to Young Writers," 1955 Edition, China Youth Publishing House, p 117) Any form of literature and art results from the writer's subjective evaluation of objective reality. There is no purely objective form of literature and art in the world.

Practice is the sole criterion for verifying the truth. In creative writing an outstanding writer usually is more interested in things to come than in things of the past. He often delights and thrills the readers of his work with typical characters that appear familiar but actually strange to them. In real social life we may never see such a crazy character as one who sets out to combat the world's injustices with a lance in hand, treating windmills as giants and flocks of sheep as enemy armies. But such a typical character does appear in Miguel de Cervantes' novel "Don Quixote." Although Don Quixote is a character seemingly too imaginary to be true, he bears a striking resemblance to many subjectivists and adventurers in Spain of Cervantes' time who wanted to restore its old systems. This novel is immortal in that it presages an inevitable historical trend through the characteristics of Don Quixote, a trend in which feudalism is bound to be replaced by capitalism. Similarly, we may never see in Chinese history a person similar in behavior and mentality to the character of Ah Q depicted by Lu Xun in his humorous and satirical style, a character who typifies backward and stubborn peasants in China. The character of Ah Q, who takes every defeat in a gracious manner, was common in the Chinese society of Lu Xun's time, a character who appears real as well as typical of the Chinese peasantry. In discussing the relationship between historical research and the development of historical plays, our outstanding proletarian cultural fighter Comrade Guo Moruo once said: "Historical research is an endeavor to seek truth from facts, while historical plays emphasize a reconstruction of past events as accurately as possible. The role of historians is to penetrate deep into the spirit of history, while the role of writers of historical plays is to develop the spirit of history." Actually, this remark mainly emphasizes the principle of characterization, dissuading writers

and artists from acting like mirrors and naturalist novelists reflecting social life as it is.

In the contemporary history of Soviet literature, especially following the 20th CPSU Congress, some writers were obsessed with the naturalist way of writing and loudly shouted the slogan "write about facts." They emphasized "short stories based on facts" and were interested in "writing about private life." Under the slogan "It is necessary to comprehensively reflect social life as a whole," they objected to the form of literature which conveys the essence of social life. They promoted the form of "writing about the facts in the war trenches." But their real aim was to depict bloodshed and death in a photographic style and to record cries and moans just as a videotape does. They used this as a means of spreading the sentiment of peace and false hopes for peace. They maintained that the value of a literary work must be determined by the "degree of sincerity" its writer demonstrated. Consequently, a large number of works with naturalist tendencies have appeared in the Soviet Union. Among them are the reactionary novel "Doctor Zhivago," which discredits the October Revolution, "Romance of Sorrow," "Bread Alone Is Not Enough" and "The Last Gun Duel." This occurrence in the Soviet Union reminds us that, under the slogan "writing about facts," naturalism can grow and make its influence felt in society in the name of realism or under the cloak of what is called the most sincere and comprehensive realism.

Practice is the greatest critic. It teaches us that the slogan "writing about facts" clearly can mislead the people in many ways and therefore needs clarification. Only thus can we draw a clear distinction between this slogan and naturalism. The slogan "writing about facts" also provided Lin Biao and the "gang of four" with an opportunity to exaggerate its imperfections and incorrectness, to vigorously criticize the "theory of the realistic form of writing" and to deny our literature its realistic tradition. Today, as our endeavor to eliminate chaos from and restore order to the cultural front is leading us back to the correct Marxist road, we feel that we are no longer required to persistently pursue the realistic form of writing. It is now clear that the continuing pursuit of this form of writing can neither provide writers any correct guidance for writing nor help them attain their goal of reflecting life as accurately as possible. Another disadvantage of this form of writing is that it may cause more ideological confusion in literature and art circles, thus creating difficulties for writers in developing typical characters for their works.

Beauty of Art and Beauty of Life

Recently our newspapers and journals have published some articles on art and life and on the relationship between the beauty of art and the beauty of life. The discussion on this theoretical problem of literature and art has been rewarding and has attracted the public's

attention and interest. Some articles indignantly criticize the "gang of four" for concocting such perplexing fallacies as "literature and art originate from life and therefore are more valuable than life" and for confusing art with life and the beauty of art with the beauty of life. Because some of the views on the relationship between art and life and between the beauty of art and the beauty of life discussed in the articles are related to the theory of the "realistic form of writing," we deeply feel that the time has come for us to further review and study these matters.

One article contains a quotation from Solnizhevskiy: "Genuine beauty of the highest form can be found only in the real world; no art or craft can create it." The theme of this remark is that literature and art "can in no way supersede social life as a whole." This is something worth discussing. First, Solnizhevskiy was not a Marxist. It is interesting to note that, with regard to the relationship between life and beauty, he adhered to the Marxist viewpoint that life means beauty and objected to idealism. But further observation of his remark shows that he was not good at dialectics, and his theme that life means beauty was based on mechanical materialism. Using this ideology as a guide, he believed that genuine beauty of the highest form exists only in real life and therefore is beyond the power of art to create. Second, it must be pointed out that the society in which man lives is a depository of rich sources of raw material for literature and art which take natural form and therefore need to be cut into artistic forms; people usually prefer the beauty of art to the beauty of life; they are more interested in enjoying music and beautiful melodies produced by musicians through hard mental labor than in listening to the voices of nature such as bird chirps and frog calls; they love watching plays and movies and reading novels rather than observing contradictions, disputes and conflicts that exist in real life. This is because works of literature and art are masterpieces of writers' mental labor which give true and beautiful pictures of social reality and which are "on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal and therefore more universal than actual everyday life." (Mao Zedong, "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art") On the other hand, we must also recognize that, apart from reflecting a certain aspect or episode of social life, it is unreasonable to require a literary and art work to incorporate everything that occurs in society; life as reflected in works of literature and art is more valuable than ordinary everyday life. Otherwise, literature and art are bound to lose their value as forms of information, education and art. Furthermore, we must also recognize that masterpieces of literature and art produced in any specific period of history are more valuable than the social life of the period they reflect. By more valuable we do not mean here that literature is capable of recording and incorporating all details of life that unfold in society. Nor do we mean that life as reflected in literary works is richer in content than actual everyday life. To sum up, the ideological form of literature and art derived from actual

everyday life is a reflection of social life which presents "a sense of profoundness, honesty and decency" and which sometimes contains scientific predictions of events to come in conformity with the objective laws of the development of history. Examples of this are abundant in history. One of them is a song composed by the great propagandist Eugene Pottier which read: "The proletariat in Paris will explode like a torpedo; a red commune will emerge like a rising sun in the sky." This song foretold an earthshaking event to come--the birth of the Paris Commune. Pottier made this prediction through his observation of the war then going on between France and Germany. When the Russian revolution failed in 1905 and when the overwhelming majority of the members of the working class in his country felt depressed at this failure, Maksim Gorkiy envisioned the rise of the proletariat in Russia in the typical proletarian character of Pavel Nirovna in his novel "Mother." Can anyone deny that works by Eugene Pottier and Maksim Gorkiy were superior in artistic quality to other historical documents on social life of their time? Can we say that they were only equal to or lower in artistic value than other historical documents when the proletariat in their countries still lived in a state of subjugation?

True, just as Lenin once said, "Practice is more valuable than (theoretical) knowledge." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 230) This means that knowledge grows through practice, an element which contains not only universal but also realistic characters. In discussing the dialectical process of acquiring knowledge, Lenin further pointed out: "Scientific (accurate, concise and systematic) extractions of phenomena can present a more profound, accurate and complete picture of nature." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 181) Lenin's doctrine here has two aspects. We must put the two aspects together to achieve a complete understanding of it. If we focused our attention only on the first quotation and ignored the second, we would be unable to totally comprehend Lenin's doctrine, and we might come to an incorrect conclusion that literature and art cannot be more valuable than life itself. We feel that Lenin's doctrine should also be applicable to the relationship between the beauty of art and the beauty of life. There are also two aspects of this problem. Without taking the two aspects into account, we cannot comprehend this problem. An assessment of the relationship between the source and stream of literature shows that actual everyday life in society is the only inexhaustible source of raw materials for literature and art; it is so rich in content and form that all forms of literature and art pale into insignificance. This relationship between literature and art on the one hand and their source on the other cannot be distorted. This is why Marxist writers have repeatedly emphasized their need to keep in close touch with life. But an assessment of the relationship between the beauty of art and the beauty of life shows that the former derived from actual everyday life is more valuable than the latter, that social life as reflected in works of literature and art is more typical and more universal than ordinary everyday life. This theory is corroborated by the history of literature and art.

In short, the form of literature and art that reflects life is a process of creative mental labor, a process of plotting and a process of transition from the beauty of life to the beauty of art. This goal cannot be reached by merely emphasizing the realistic form of writing. Toward this goal, we have no alternative but to reconstruct all typical characters and typical settings in a sincere and honest manner.

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ON TYPICAL EXAMPLES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 80 pp 44-48

[Article by Jin Wen [6855 3080]]

[Text]

I

Grasping typical examples to obtain experience in guiding the general public has long been considered our party's traditional method of work. As we are struggling to realize the four modernizations, we are now required to apply this method more often than ever to seek a better understanding of many new developments and solution for many new problems. In the past we felt that it was highly rewarding to foster and examine typical examples and promote advanced typical experiences. But we should not forget some lessons we have drawn from grasping typical examples. Special attention must be paid to the fact that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" promoted their ultraleftist line in the name of grasping typical examples. This has prompted some people to question the necessity and wisdom of grasping typical examples and selecting advanced examples. Now, what attitude should we take toward this problem?

Dialectics holds that all elements in the universe are interconnected; everything contains individual and common characters or particular and general characters; common character resides in individual character, and general character exists in particular character. "General character can exist only in individual character and can develop only through the development of individual character." ("Discussion on Dialectics," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 713) Based on this reason, if people want to understand the "general character," systems and common character that universally exist in every particular element, they must first get to know the "individual character" and analyze it. "As regards the sequence in the movement of man's knowledge, there is always a gradual growth from the knowledge of individual and particular things to the knowledge of things in general." (Mao Zedong, "On Contradiction")

Any individual element contains, without exception, the "general or common character." But some "general character" and "common character" or essence contained or reflected in certain individual elements are relatively superior to many other individual elements. For this reason, these individual elements can be more representative than others and therefore deserve to be called typical examples. Generally speaking, typical examples are particular elements most capable of reflecting the "general and common character" or "essence" of many other elements. If people want to achieve a quick and accurate understanding of some elements, they cannot possibly study them all one by one. But it is also inadvisable for them to blindly pick up any individual element for analysis without going through a selective procedure. To achieve their intended purpose, they have to select the "typical examples" for careful analysis. In other words, we must "make a breakthrough at a single point in order to gain experience." This single point here means a typical example rather than any other individual element. It can be said that the most direct and most effective way of knowing the world is by means of analyzing typical examples.

In the process of the development of all elements, their movement is not even. Among them are the relatively advanced, the intermediate and the relatively backward. Thus come various examples that typify the advanced, the intermediate and the backward. In order for us to understand them, we must analyze all these examples as a guide to action. This analysis is significant in that it will help us to understand their common essence and to classify it into guiding principles. As far as these three examples are concerned, the advanced example is more progressive ideologically and more capable of reflecting the essence of all elements than the other two. The advanced example also represents progress in which all elements move and can play an exemplary, vanguard and active role in pushing society forward. In view of this, the analysis of typical examples is unusually significant in that it will help people to understand the advanced example and to sum up and promote the advanced typical experiences. The usually popular slogan "Grasp selected points to gain experience in guiding overall work" also means that we must grasp advanced examples, but not just any "point" at random, in order to successfully set everything in motion.

From this analysis we can conclude that, if we want to know the "general character," we must first select typical examples from among many individual elements for analysis; in analyzing the typical examples we must concentrate on analyzing advanced examples in order to achieve a better understanding of the objective world while applying advanced typical experiences to guide overall work. This is also what we term the method of combining the general call with particular guidance, consistently promoted by Comrade Mao Zedong during his lifetime. Practice proves that this method of work conforms to the dialectical-materialist ideological line and therefore is highly effective. However, it is undeniable that we still cannot forget some painful lessons we have drawn from this experience.

When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were at the height of their power, their so-called "advanced examples" and "advanced typical experiences" were not based on objective facts and were concocted in conformity with their pragmatic point of view. Under their influence, facts were distorted, "typical examples" were fostered and "experiences" were fabricated in order to meet their so-called "political needs." In this way, no distinction could be drawn between good and bad examples and between truth and falsehood; nor were there any objective criteria for distinguishing good from bad examples. They confused red with black, socialism with capitalism and revisionism. They "criticized" good examples as bad, praised bad examples as good, mistook regional models for national examples, and "vigorously extolled" ultraleft examples as "advanced examples." In the end, false examples and experiences were promoted. They knowingly overestimated the per-mu grain yield from 800 or 1,000 jin to thousands or tens of thousands of jin and deliberately made a big fanfare about it. They knowingly gave workers the credit for inventions by experts and technicians. They also said that technical innovations carried out by experts and technicians in close cooperation with the workers were a victory of the working class achieved without the assistance of the "stinking ninth category." They also promoted bad examples and bad experiences. They called Zhang Tiesheng, who turned in a blank examination paper, a "fighter capable of holding back the tide." After being awarded this legitimate title, he stirred up trouble everywhere and openly carried out counterrevolutionary activities.

Some experiences gained by those genuine advanced examples were also exaggerated. A case in point was that truly advanced examples of agricultural production were not reported, summed up or promoted on the basis of seeking truth from facts but were "upgraded" as so-called "brilliant examples of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" and examples of "all-round dictatorship." They developed the movement to learn from Dachai in agriculture into a political movement with class struggle as the key link, thus creating a disruptive impact on the nation. It must also be pointed out that for years a great number of advanced examples had emerged on the industrial, agricultural and other fronts and were later deliberately "upgraded" by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" as brilliant champions of "studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat" and of "criticizing 'Water Margin' and Song Jiang," in gross disregard of the fact that their achievements lay in grasping production, in improving management and in perfecting the system of personal responsibility. In addition to the tactic of "upgrading," they developed a method of turning some units into "cults of worship." Once a unit became a well-known advanced unit, it was publicly proclaimed a "good, excellent and perfect" model capable of providing excellent experiences and excellent, talented people. It could make a complete set of "successful

experiences" available to whatever movement was to be launched. It was named an advanced unit not only by agricultural, industrial, and finance and trade conferences but also by the conference on public health. Whenever a conference of advanced units was held, it was invited to present its "advanced experiences," thus transforming itself into an "omnipotent example" capable of doing anything and everything. As a matter of fact, "advanced examples or experiences of this type" never existed. It was a false report that was responsible for hiding its true nature from the public. This method of "upgrading and immortalizing" an advanced example should be blamed for leading people to practice idealism instead of materialism and for falsifying typical examples.

Idealism was also practiced in examining and investigating typical examples, thus creating ideological confusion that even today still awaits clarification. The aim of examining and investigating typical examples is to achieve an understanding of new developments and to seek solutions for new problems. For this reason, the more honestly and objectively these examples are examined and investigated, the better. Comrade Mao Zedong, who attached great importance to the method of combining study with investigation, once said: "Investigations mean seeking solutions to problems." But some of our comrades have made a sorry mess of what was originally well done after putting into effect a policy based on information and experiences they brought back with them from an investigation tour of some units. The reason is that in the process of summing up their experiences resulting from the tour they had to follow "regulations" which allowed their subjective views to take precedence over their objective observations. Another reason is that these comrades at high levels were not authorized to investigate matters not listed under the "regulations"; comrades from the lower unit who briefed the visitors on its conditions were not supposed to say anything that was not requested. Consequently, the information they gathered was nothing more than the material required by the subjective regulations and "data" that conformed to their subjective wishes.

Undoubtedly, these "advanced examples," "advanced experiences" and "investigative information on typical examples," concocted according to subjective wishes, were harmful to everyone. If they were applied to promote the revolutionary cause, they would hurt the revolutionary cause.

III

Are the advanced examples and their experiences all good? No. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were at the height of their power, metaphysics became rampant; the advanced examples and their experiences were often treated as absolutely perfect and universally applicable models. A conspicuous manifestation of this behavior was that they regarded the advanced examples as unique models or as the "only bible" to be chanted by people throughout the country.

The truth is that, since every advanced example contains individual and common characters, those basic experiences based on the common character are undeniably something of universal significance, while other particular experiences based on the individual character are localized and cannot be universally applied. It is absolutely ridiculous to treat an advanced example that contains only specific characteristics and particular experiences as a universally applicable "truth." This is the first point I must make. Second, ours is a vast country in which the levels of economic development vary from place to place. This being the case, any attempt to force the people to accept any single typical example with particular characteristics and experiences as the only universally applicable model is as unwise as a man who wants to cut the feet of millions of Chinese people to fit the shoes. This method will only hurt the development of our nation's economic life and can in no way improve it. Third, the conditions that are ripe for carrying out the revolution and construction in our country also vary from place to place and take various forms. Since every locality has its own specific conditions, advanced examples and experiences, it seems reasonable to allow the people to chant as many "bibles" as possible under the unified policy. Chanting "a single bible" means depriving the people of their right to chant "various bibles" and suppressing their creative spirit. It also means transforming millions of Chinese people into negative, passive, obedient and imitative slaves.

The demand that "a comprehensive system" should be instituted and that "no deviation" should be allowed in learning from the advanced typical experiences is actually a supplementary measure to protect that "only bible." This demand means forcing the people to concentrate on grasping that "individual character" and studying its localized particular experiences instead of the basic experiences of that "common character." The advocacy of "a comprehensive system" and "no deviation" in learning from the advanced typical experiences is essentially a synonym for imitation. In other words, once a production brigade scores a success in economic accounting and in reclaiming farmland from the mountains, all other brigades throughout the country have no choice but to follow suit. This form of imitation was responsible for making that abominable formalism rampant in our country once before. Isn't the call for systematically learning from advanced typical experiences without "deviation" a mandatory measure to encourage and force the people to practice formalism? Shouldn't this call be blamed for the people's having abandoned scientific methods that urge them to do everything in a manner appropriate to local conditions? Painting by imitation is unlikely to produce any outstanding art work. It would be disastrous if the example to be followed is a bad one. As a matter of fact, there is neither "omnipotent example" nor universally applicable "comprehensive" experience. For this reason, in learning from the advanced typical experiences it is necessary to adapt them to local needs; no one should be asked to swallow them wholesale.

In addition to interpreting advanced examples in terms of absolutes and treating them as universally applicable models, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" even went a step further in building them up as permanently unalterable examples. Once an advanced example was designated a national and provincial "red flag," it became an eternally unalterable and insuperable model whose experiences were considered to be the best and unmatched by any other units. Even if some other units had advanced far ahead of it in terms of output, they still could not take its place. Its party committee secretary, members and representatives were also considered superior in every sense to their counterparts in other units. But changes take place everywhere in the world; the old order is bound to be superseded by the new, just like the waves roaring down the Yangtze River and emptying into the sea; the young generation is bound to grow in maturity and become superior to its predecessors. An advanced example can be valid only for a limited period of time. It is absolutely impossible for it to keep its record unbeaten forever. The best record set by the world's most outstanding athlete will sooner or later be smashed by others. In other words, there is no insurmountable peak in the world. What is particularly true is that, with the revolutionary cause entering a new stage of development and the productive forces moving up to a new level, the people will feel encouraged to foster and create new advanced examples and to push the advanced examples of the old days behind them. As the world is advancing in conformity with the laws of dialectics, anyone who tries to keep the record of an advanced example unbeaten forever will fail. Any deliberate effort to immortalize an advanced example not only violates the objective laws of the development of things but also impedes the development of the revolutionary cause.

IV

Historical experience tells us that the application of idealist and metaphysical methods in examining and investigating typical examples and in summing up and promoting advanced typical experiences is an unhealthy tendency that will hurt everyone and benefit no one. But can we thoughtlessly and summarily abandon our efforts to examine and investigate typical examples and sum up and promote advanced typical experiences simply out of fear of a little trouble? Certainly not.

As everyone knows, the four modernizations are a large-scale transformation and a great undertaking. As millions of Chinese people are marching toward that great goal, countless advanced typical examples are bound to emerge, examples that need to be examined and promoted. The task now facing us is one of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving our national economy, a task which concerns not only the economic base but also the superstructure. In this connection, there is a great deal of work to be done. In carrying it out we can neither move too cautiously nor act recklessly. We must examine typical examples, use them as a guide and promote advanced typical examples.

This is work that needs to be done. "No one in a leadership position is competent to give general guidance to all units unless he derives concrete experiences from particular individuals and events in particular subordinate units." (Mao Zedong, "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Work") We must overcome idealism and metaphysics and truly adopt materialist-dialectical methods for investigating and examining typical examples and for summing up and promoting advanced experiences. We must correctly foster and cultivate advanced examples and promote advanced typical experiences.

Advanced examples originate from real life. They cannot possibly be discovered unless efforts are made to thoroughly understand, compare and scrutinize them. Comrades who often select advanced examples on the basis of a report or document certainly cannot avoid making mistakes. A good report at best can provide only a clue leading to the discovery of advanced examples. But whether they are really advanced examples still needs to be thoroughly checked, examined, analyzed, compared and finally verified. True is true and false is false. Whether these advanced examples are true or false cannot be verified by subjective imagination but only by objective criteria. All advanced examples exist objectively. Only those examples capable of representing the advanced productive forces deserve to be called advanced examples. Likewise, only those experiences which have directly and indirectly contributed to the development of the productive forces can be called advanced experiences. Whether they are advanced or not can be interpreted differently in different stages of history. In the days ahead, enterprises and establishments that have taken their place in the front ranks of the four modernizations can be called advanced examples; experiences which have directly and indirectly contributed to the development of the four modernizations can be called advanced experiences. However, some ultraleft elements have presented themselves as the "advanced" and have tried to back up this claim with some false and exaggerated reports. Actually, they are obstacles to the development of the productive forces. Only by adhering to this objective criterion and by seeking truth from facts can we draw a clear distinction between ultraleft elements and advanced examples. All experiences not based on practice but contained in well-written reports are merely flowers incapable of bearing fruit or flowers capable of bearing bitter fruit. Advanced experiences made known by exaggerated reports will not be able to withstand tests. Only those advanced examples of great vitality which can benefit others can survive tests.

Historically, no advanced example can last forever. An advanced example may exist today or for a specific period of time. If it is overtaken by others, it can no longer be called an advanced example. If that occurs, it should voluntarily admit that it has lagged behind others. Only thus can we uphold materialism. The people should be encouraged to learn from and overtake the advanced examples. Only thus can we uphold advanced dialectics and revolutionary dialectics and induce the

masses to display initiative and compete with each other and the backward to catch up with and overtake the advanced.

In promoting and learning from advanced experiences we must correctly handle the relationship between individual and common characters and accurately understand them. The advanced examples and units which learn from them contain both individual and common characters. Their individual character is different, but their common character is identical. For this reason, we can neither totally ignore nor totally imitate the advanced typical experiences without questioning. We must analyze the advanced examples, their specific methods and experiences, and use their universally applicable basic experiences as a basis for developing an effective measure that takes into account our own specific conditions. Like a bee sucking the nectar from a flower and making it into honey, we do not absorb the advanced typical experiences without digesting. The same is true in learning from domestic and foreign advanced typical experiences. There is a great difference between capitalist and socialist modernizations, a difference that can be reflected in their individual characters. Do they have anything in common? Yes. For example, both want to apply modern science and technology to develop their industry, agriculture, national defense, other sectors of their national economies and related projects. It is also clear that this common character exists in socialist modernization in China and modernization in other socialist countries. Is there any individual character that distinguishes our socialist modernization from that in other socialist countries? The answer is yes. This is because every country has its own specific and unique historical and actual conditions.

Because an advanced example contains individual and common characters, its experience can also be divided into particular and basic experiences. This is why the promotion of advanced typical experiences should not be interpreted as an integral part of the party's policy. Although in a sense the examination of typical examples is a process essential to the formulation of the party's policy, we must also realize that our party's policy is formulated on the basis of the examination, investigation and analysis of not only advanced units but also ordinary and backward units as well. A policy so formulated is more universally applicable and broader in scale and more instructive than any advanced typical experience. This being the case, advanced typical experience cannot be regarded as the backbone of the party's policy. An advanced typical example can present its facts and experiences as a form of education, while the policy is a decree and a mandatory measure. But once a new policy is formulated and put into effect, it needs to be implemented by some typical units on a trial basis. Eventually, some advanced examples are bound to emerge from various fronts in various localities after achieving success in implementing the party's policy and will be named models worthy of emulation by people everywhere.

DECEPTIVE LANGUAGE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 80 inside back cover

[Article by Zhang Hua [1728 0553]]

[Text] It is really hard to understand the statements of Soviet leaders.

Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan, and Brezhnev said: "There is no invasion. The Soviet Union dispatched troops to Afghanistan at the invitation of the Afghan Government."

When Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia in 1939 he also "dispatched troops to Czechoslovakia."

So it was the "government invitation" that makes all the difference. But on second thought, this is hard to understand. Why did the Afghan Government invite the Soviet troops in? To help that government resist "foreign armed intervention," it is claimed. After the "dispatch" of Soviet troops, it is true that an "American spy" was caught (according to a statement in the Soviet PRAVDA) and shot. However, this "spy" was none other than Amin, the head of government who had "invited" the Soviet troops in.

If the Amin government wanted to topple, it might as well have toppled of its own accord; why should it needlessly invite the Soviet troops in to take that action?

Brezhnev said that the "dispatch" of Soviet troops to Afghanistan was a "limited action."

"Limited action" is a simple phrase. Yet the more we think of it, the harder it is to understand. What does "limited" mean? Is it a "limited" number of troops to be "dispatched"? At the very beginning it was some 20,000, but within half a month it was increased to 80,000. According to reports from foreign sources, "the number is larger than the total number of Afghan regular armed forces," and this is still not the final figure! Were the troops "dispatched" to some "limited" area? Starting

from the north, the Soviet troops have penetrated deep into the east, west, south and north of Afghanistan. "Even the smallest village in the Hindu Kush range has been attacked and occupied by the Russians," and "Russians are everywhere"! Now Pakistan, Afghanistan's neighbor, is alarmed by the concentration of Soviet troops along the Afghan-Pakistani border. Was this the "limit" planned at the time of the "dispatch"? Let us recall the "temporary dispatch" of Soviet troops "to Czechoslovakia" in 1968. The word "temporary" certainly implies some limitation. Yet today there is still no sign of movement on the part of the Soviet troops stationed there. Ten and a half years have passed, and the word "temporary" still applies!

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